

Migrant women labourers and “leaving children behind”: Community women’s perceptions

by

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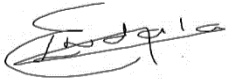
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Declaration

I Ephie Lebohang Ndala, declare that the study entitled “Migrant women labourers and child ‘leaving the children behind’: Madelakufa Community women’s perceptions” is my own work and that all the sources used or quoted have been acknowledged by means of referencing.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Ephie Ndala', with a stylized flourish at the end.

Signed: Ephie Lebohang Ndala

Date: November 2019

Acknowledgement

To God be the glory, dominion and honour forever and ever. I thank God for His love that keeps me going. To my supervisor, Professor Puleng Nankulele Segalo, thank you for walking this journey with me and for pushing me to think; we nourished this 'baby' from conception until now. Thank you for allowing me to tackle this complex study, Ke a leboha Motshweneng. To my loving husband, Sifiso, thank you for your support through it all for all the times you rooted for me when it was tough; I love you for that. To my children, Nkazimulo, Ofentse, Mbusi (may your soul rest in peace) and Ukuphila, thank you for the sacrifices all those times I couldn't spend with you, and Lolo and Fefe (the notes in my books kept me going). Looking at you girls I knew I had to complete. Dr Heather Sedibe, thank you for academic input.

Abstract

Migration has always been part of South African history, both in the collective and as individuals. Under apartheid, children were separated from their fathers and sometimes mothers for long periods of time, and as a coping strategy, foster care was introduced. This trend is still noticeable as we continue to find both men and women moving from rural households in pursuit of employment. In countries where gender roles are still very inflexible and the mother's main role is perceived as that of raising children and the father's as providing for the family, migration of mothers is perceived as a much larger disruption in a child's life than is the father's absence. Drawing from critical feminist theory, which pays particular attention to issues of discrimination and oppression against women, my study aimed at exploring the perceptions Madelakufa community women have about migrant women labourers who leave their children. A qualitative approach was employed, and data were collected through conducting three focus groups. Thematic analysis was used to analyse the data.

Keywords: "leaving the children behind", migrant women, migration, South Africa

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Migration is, of course, change and it can lead, in turn, to further transformations in sending and receiving societies (Van Hear, 2010).

1.1 Introduction

In South Africa before 1994, control of movement and segregation of race restricted the movement of black people, which resulted in them not moving together as family units, but migrants moving alone to go and stay in places away from their family (Buijs, 1985). Men were pulled from rural areas into the cities as migrant labour, while leaving women behind to care for children (Nettleton, 2014). As a result, in the rural areas migration was mainly a practice performed by men (Buijs, 1985). Women were left at home as a product of pre-colonial structures and these structures determined their employment; for instance, bringing up children and tending for the fields (Nettleton, 2014). During the colonial period in Africa, migration by women was discouraged (Dungumaro, 2013). Furthermore, South African legislation restricted female migrants from applying for better-paying jobs (Buijs, 1985). Hall and Posel (2018) also note that, in the past, migrant labour mostly consisted of males rather than females, but this trend is changing, with the percentage of women migrant labourers increasing.

1.2 Background

There has been a great deal of migration in sub-Saharan Africa, due to various reasons, such as demographic and environmental systems, and political and labour migration (Dungumaro, 2013). The lack of jobs or limited economic prospects often lead to households migrating to places where there are better job opportunities

(Jaupart, 2019). This leads to a continuation of people being drawn to successful cities like Johannesburg for better job opportunities (Segatti & Landau, 2011). Furthermore, due to underdevelopment and lack of jobs in the rural areas in South Africa, women migrate to urban areas in search of jobs (Buijs, 1985). There is an increase in the percentage of women who migrate in search of work opportunities (Awumbila, 2015; Mbiyozo, 2018). These women have to make difficult choices between childcare and income generation (Hall & Posel, 2018). Senaratna (2015) highlights that, although children are left behind by mothers who migrate, this action is often not by choice, but due to situations that force them to migrate, like poverty and loss or lack of local employment. However, because the phenomenon of migration is predominately understood as an exercise performed by men (Mbiyozo, 2018), Senaratna (2015) found that children who are left behind by women migrants may be perceived by the community members as being vulnerable to abuse. This is due to the nurturing role that mothers play in children's lives (Kofman & Raguram, 2012).

Mbiyozo (2018) asserts that migration for women has brought forth opportunities, but it also comes with risks. These risks may include, among others, xenophobia, trafficking, abuse and exploitation (Mbiyozo, 2018; Subramaniam & Rezaul Islam, 2019). To add to this point, Mbiyozo (2018) highlights that the migration policy in South Africa takes a risk-based approach, which involves limiting ease of access and the rights of migrants, as well as imposing restrictions that will render women who migrate vulnerable. However, with kinship support it is possible for migrant women to leave their children behind in rural areas while searching for work in urban areas (Buijs, 1985).

Furthermore Bushin (2009) argues that, although a great deal of research focuses on children not having a say in decision-making when parents migrate, some children are involved in this process. Weeraratne (2016) is of the view that children can either benefit or be disadvantaged when their mothers migrate. This point is also noted by Jaupart (2019), who found uncertain conclusions about the impact of migration on children. Although there are some positive effects on the children left behind by women migrants, Weeraratne (2016) found that, compared to the children of non-migrant mothers, the former may experience poorer performance at school and more behavioural problems, and are more prone to physical abuse.

1.3 The rationale or purpose of the study

The purpose of this study was to understand Madelakufa community women's perceptions in relation to migrant women labourers and the children left behind. There is a need to understand how women view other women who go away and leave their children behind in search of work opportunities. By understanding the different perceptions, communities are more likely to learn how to address challenges that arise as a result of women migrating and the conditions under which women make particular choices. There is an increase in women migration (Awumbila, 2015; Mbiyozo, 2018), often times migrants migrate in places where they are not able to bring their children to live with (Makiwane & Chimere-Dan, 2010), which result in them leaving children behind. Because of the role of women as nurturers (Kofman & Raguram, 2012), it becomes problematic when children are left behind and communities perceive them negatively (Senaratna, 2015).

The decision to migrate is commonly made by families who request mothers to go out and seek employment in order for them to better provide for their families (Lu, 2012;

Molina, 2015). Wen and Lin (2012) assert that the most fundamental resources that parents provide for their children are time and money. A substantial number of migrant workers are unable to bring their families with them to the place where they work (Makiwane & Chimere-Dan, 2010). This accounts for the incidence of the separation of families among migrant workers, with millions of children left behind in their communities. Family members who remain in the communities usually benefit from the remittances sent by the migrant labourers (Lopez-Ekra, Aghazarm, Kötter & Mollard, 2011).

Existing literature seems to suggest that parental migration has a lasting negative impact on children's developmental abilities and chances in life. Parental migration is understood as the absence of parenting, which comes with significant social and emotional costs for children. In many parts of the world, women migrant labourers who are cross border migrants have to deal with abusive employers, and because some work illegally where they have limited rights, they tolerate unregulated hours with little recourse to the law if they are abused or not paid (Mahdavi, 2013). Separation between parents and children has considerable difficult outcomes with regard to the education, cognitive development and psychological well-being of children. Children not only have to put up with the emotional costs of neglect, but also with domestic duties. Lu (2012) argues that children in single-father families have poorer outcomes compared to those in single-mother families, because of the role of mothers as primary caregivers (Lu, 2012). Cortes (2015) found that children of women migrant labourers were more affected with regard to education and development than those of men migrants. While there are undoubtedly numerous challenges associated with migrant labour, there are also benefits for the family. For example, those who are working far away from home

assist the family financially and contribute towards ensuring educational investment of the children. There is therefore a need to look holistically at the issues pertaining to migrant labour more broadly and women migrant labourers in particular.

1.4 Aim of the study

The study aimed to explore Tembisa women's perceptions of women migrant labourers and the phenomenon of "leaving the children behind".

1.5 The objectives of the study

1. To explore the perceptions of women regarding "leaving the children behind" as a result of migrant labour.
2. To gain an understanding of the perceived possible challenges faced by women migrant labourers.

1.6 The research questions

1. What are the perceptions of women regarding children left behind as a result of migrant labour?
2. What are the perceived possible challenges faced by migrant mothers who make the choice to leave their children behind?

1.7 Significance of the study

Migrant labour has been found to be a contributing factor in the disintegration of families. As indicated earlier, it is more acceptable for men to migrate and leave the family behind in search of opportunities, while women migrant labour continues to be a contested terrain. This study hopes to engage the complexities of women leaving

children behind due to the need to search for financial opportunities that will assist in supporting their lives. It is hope that the study will help in gaining a better understanding of how those who are embedded in communities make meaning of women who migrate in search for employment. I was of the view that the findings would contribute towards the body of knowledge on children left behind, how this notion is understood and some of the ways in which challenges relating to it may be addressed, as well as understanding some of the decisions women migrant labourers have to make.

1.8 Definition of concepts

The definitions below informed how I used these concepts in the rest of the study.

1.8.1 Leaving the children behind

In the context of the current study, “leaving the children behind” is defined as the physical absence of the mother. This absence could also impact on the mother’s emotional presence or involvement. This absence is as a result of migrating for work.

1.8.2 Community

For purpose of the current study, the community refers to the women that reside in the Madelakufa informal settlement, in Tembisa Township, Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality, Gauteng, South Africa.

1.8.3 Migrant

There is no universally accepted definition of a migrant. The International Organization for Migration defines a migrant as any person who is moving or has moved across an

international border or within a state away from his or her habitual place of residence (Mbiyozo, 2018, p. 4).

1.9 Outline

Chapter 1

This chapter covers the background, followed by the rationale or purpose of the study, aims, objectives and research problems. The significance of the study is discussed, and relevant terms are defined. The chapter concludes with an outline of the study.

Chapter 2

This chapter presents the review of literature related to the topic.

Chapter 3

This chapter highlights the methods that were adopted when carrying out the study. The sample of the study and the qualitative methods used are also explained. The chapter describes the research process in detail, consisting of the research site and context, access, entry and preparation, sampling, and data collection. In addition to this, social constructionism is discussed as a paradigm and critical feminist theory is discussed as a lens that guided the study.

Chapter 4

This chapter focuses on analysis of the data, followed by the interpretation and discussion of results.

Chapter 5

This chapter assists in concluding the study. It highlights what has been learned from the study, identifying the shortfalls presented. Furthermore, recommendations are offered for further research.

Chapter 2

Literature review

2.1 Introduction

Despite these positive steps, though, South Africa remains a country in which to be a child ... is to walk a fragile path to adulthood and to be a woman is, for far too many, to be poor, disempowered, and vulnerable to appallingly high levels of sexual violence. The gap between the principles espoused on paper and the reality on the ground is profound (Bower, 2014, p. 107).

The historical background of migration in South Africa is intertwined with the apartheid era and how families were forced to separate. It may be argued that this separation could have contributed to the disintegration of many families, leading to parents and children living apart from one another. Numerous scholars argue that migration erodes the development of the economy of the countries or cities that people who migrate come from (De Haas, 2012; Deshingkar & Zeitlyn, 2014); conversely, there are those who argue for migration, noting the value it adds to families that are left in poverty (Caneva, 2014; Cenci, 2015; Delgado-Wise, 2014; Ye et al., 2013).

Men were traditionally the only ones permitted to migrate (Posel, 2004), with women having minimal opportunity to migrate (Camlin et al., 2014). The issue of migration continues to be gendered, wherein it continues to be deemed more acceptable for men to be away from their families than for women. Even with policies put in place in South Africa to curb gender inequality, women continue to struggle navigating various facets of society (Loots & Walker, 2015). As a result, when women migrate it is seen as neglect by some, but when men migrate it is seen as provision for their families (Keough; Moran-Taylor; Parrenas, as cited in Hofmann & Buckley, 2012). Children

may feel neglected by parents who migrate, which may be due to alternative care givers not caring for the child the way in which the parent would (Givaudan & Pick, 2013).

Even though women may be judged harshly for migrating, they remit more than men to ensure the well-being of the children they leave behind (Gates, 2014). Migrant women not only put the needs of other people first, but also neglect their own needs in the destination area. Even though women migrants make a choice to leave, this choice is usually forced by economic stresses and they end up having to make difficult choices to migrate (Gündüz, 2013). This chapter aims to explore the various aspects that are related to the migration of women and leaving children behind.

2.2 History of migration

Migration has always been part of the South African history, both in the collective and as individuals (Fine, 2014; Crawford & Campbell, 2013). The influence of apartheid and unemployment rates among the black majority have reinforced migration debates (Fine, 2014). Under apartheid, children were separated from their fathers and sometimes mothers for long periods of time as a result of migrant labour, and foster care was introduced as a coping strategy (Murray; Spiegel, as cited in Madhavan, Schatz, Clark, & Collinson, 2012). As a means of coping with economic hardships, children were moved between households (Jones; Van der Waal, as cited in Madhavan et al., 2012). This trend is still noticeable as we still find men and even more so women moving away from rural households in pursuit of employment (Madhavan et al., 2012).

Most labour migrants in and out of South Africa were traditionally men (Posel, 2004). Awumbila (2015) also highlights the point that, while migration was previously dominated by men, recently internal migration, particularly in South Africa, has seen a rise in women migrants. In agreement with Posel (2004), Camlin et al. (2014) assert that women were restricted from migrating from rural to urban areas under apartheid. Migration became well established in the economic system during a cycle of state involvement to mobilise and manage labour, as well as a variety of measures that made permanent urban settlement impossible for most migrants. According to Posel (2004), African contract labourers were also affected by the related restrictions of employment and settlement. During apartheid, the labour policy in South Africa made it a requisite that foreign African contract workers could be sent home at least once in two years. Migrants were not allowed to bring their spouses and families with them to their places of work (Makiwane & Chimere-Dan, 2010), which may have contributed to the disintegration of families. Institutionally enforced circular migration brought division in families by forcing individual migrants to have dual residence, resulting in multiple social attachments to multiple locations (Falkingham, Chepngeno-Langat, & Evandrou, 2012).

Migrant labour is not only restricted to men, as there are many women who are also leaving their homes in the quest for employment (Makiwane & Chimere-Dan, 2010) and to make a living for their children. This is a point also noted by Posel (2004), who argues that, as a result of many men leaving their homes and not coming back home, many women have been 'forced' to go out and seek employment. It is noteworthy that Awumbila (2015) also states that migration was dominated by men; however, recently, internal migration, particularly in South Africa, has seen a rise in women migrants.

There has been an increase in the number of people migrating in Africa with percentages moving from 42.7% to 45.9% in 2013; however, many migrants have not been accounted for, which suggests that this figure might be an improper reflection of the statistics (Awumbila, 2015). Even though there is information pointing to women's labour migration, Camlin et al. (2014) assert that, in sub-Saharan Africa, there continues to be minimal research in the field of women's migration studies.

Colonial boundaries heightened exploitation, exclusion and migration control. In the 1840s, the settler colonists recruited numerous farmers because labour was required to work the ground. Later, gold and diamonds were discovered, which led to a great need for labour to work in the mines, and many people migrated to the places where labour was required. According to Fine (2014), the migrant workers (mostly black) could work in the mines which were located in the city areas; however, due to the racial segregation which was in place at the time, they had to live outside the confines of the city area. This process was intertwined with the apartheid policies of segregation, which made the internal migration of black people illegal and restricted in their own country (Fine, 2014). Colonial governments enforced the migration patterns that made it difficult for migrants to have permanent urban settlement in sub-Saharan African countries (Posel & Marx, 2013).

Reed (2013) found that migration patterns in South Africa have increased since 1976; and a considerable amount is voluntary migration. Since the advent of democracy, the legalised restrictions of movement are no longer in place and people can move freely. However, economic standing has become the inclusionary and exclusionary factor. While it is now possible for people to reside wherever they want, certain areas remain exclusive due to the high costs of property. For instance, in highlighting the

complexities embedded in what a home is to migrants (for example, the ancestral home, or the urban home), Kochan (2016) points out the difficulties of migrants in attaining formal housing in their destination place, a notion that could contribute to people working in affluent areas where they cannot afford to reside together with their families, leading to people ending up renting a small room close to a place of work. In the same vein, Shapurjee and Charlton (2013) point to the benefits of renting out small backyard rooms to migrants, which they perceive as assisting migrants to enter urban systems. Residing in urban spaces assists migrants with accessibility to cheap housing which may be close to work. According to Siddiqui (2012), there are risks of family breakdown, destruction of social networks and psychological stress due to temporary and circular migration. Furthermore, family members who are left behind, mainly children, may spend their childhood developmental years without one or both parents.

2.3 Different views on migration

There are various approaches to migration; for instance, structuralists view migration as a negative occurrence, arguing that it contributes to the underdevelopment of the economy of the migrants' countries or cities of origin and therefore discourages their sociocultural unity (De Haas, 2012; Deshingkar & Zeitlyn, 2014). This is in line with pessimists who perceive migration as an extension procedure of capitalism, which challenges traditional livelihoods, pulling up the rural population and as a result forcing them to join the urban waged population for survival. Migration pessimists assume that economic and political power is distributed unequally, which causes people to have unequal access to resources, and that the expansion of capitalism reinforces these inequalities. The underdeveloped countries are ensnared in their disadvantaged position instead of progressing towards economic development.

De Haas (2012) asserts that communities find themselves trapped in structural dependency on migration which, regardless of its role to the survival of migrants and families, continues to undermine continued development. These perspectives therefore suggest that migration destroys stable families, destabilises their financial state and weakens their population, thereby giving rise to further migration. De Haas (2012) contends that this results in communities and families being dependent on migration, and this dependency causes little to no progress in the development of these communities.

On the other hand, there are optimists who contend that migration needs to be encouraged and that, in the long run, it might produce equality (Ye et al., 2013). This point is also noted by Cenci (2015) and Pellerin and Mullings (2013), who contend that migration can enhance knowledge trading in that people can learn from each other; in other words, instead of labelling it as brain drain (losing expertise), it can be seen as brain gain. A point also noted by Siar (2014) is that migration can enhance the social and economic status of migrants and that it can boost the exchange of knowledge. In support of this notion, Siar (2014, p. 300) argues that, "if highly skilled people cannot be employed at home, they are not damaging the economy by leaving."

Some scholars view migration as a collective act where family members agree on the decision to migrate (Caneva, 2014; Deshingkar & Zeitlyn, 2014). In contrast to the structuralist view, migration is seen as a route to transformation in which moving from the rural to urban area is a breakthrough to improvement (Delgado-Wise, 2014). Additionally, there may be development in the place of origin of migrants due to remittance sent by the migrants. In the same vein, Ratha (2013) contends that remittance impacts on economic growth, lowers the school dropout rate and is a tool

to decreasing poverty in the developing countries. Pellerin and Mullings (2013) assert that skilled migrants can be seen as a link between investors and prospects in their place of origin. King and Collyer (2016, p. 178) highlight the concept of social remittance as “the ideas, behaviours, identities, and social capital that flow from receiving- to sending-country communities”. Their argument assists in further highlighting the advantages of migration for communities whose members have migrated in search of better lives.

2.4 Migration and socioeconomic inequalities in South Africa

Studies by Cortes (2015), Nguyen (2016), and Su, Li, Lin, Xu and Zhu (2013) suggest that most parents continue to migrate without their children in spite of the elimination of limitations on family migration and the growing rate of women’s participation in migration (Posel, 2010). Many people leave their homes in search of better opportunities for themselves and to be able to provide for their families (Ding & Bao, 2014). According to Collinson (2010), the key factors that improve socioeconomic status (SES) in South Africa in the poorest households are social grants and female temporary migration, while the contributing factors for the less poor are male temporary migration and local employment. Lehohla (2014) indicates that, while social grants were initially a short-term measure to fighting poverty, it has become a source of livelihood in South Africa and has played a vital role in poverty reduction. Kracker and Heller (2010) assert that there is huge inequality at a national level, both within and between racial groups. The apartheid system disrupted the livelihoods of people and migration became well established by a combination of government forces and industrial labour recruitment.

People continue to move from one place to another in search for better lives; these movements are both into big cities like Johannesburg, and within Johannesburg (northwards, as people acquire more wealth) (Kracker & Heller, 2010). In his study on social grants in the KwaZulu-Natal area, Dubbeld (2013) found a relationship between social grants and the mobility of people in rural KwaZulu-Natal, in that social grants (especially the Child Support Grant) have empowered women and possibly made young men redundant in rural areas. However, the social grants have not opened up avenues of social progress and people remain locked into cycles of poverty (Dubbeld, 2013).

According to Crush (1999), the post-1994 government inherited a system of cross-border migration that is embedded in the abusive practices of the past. During the apartheid era, employers such as mining companies and white farmers were excluded from immigration legislation (Crush, 1999). The new government further inherited a system characterised by corruption, racial double standards and special privileges for some employers (Crush, 1999). Policies and legislation governing immigration and migration have been under review by the post-apartheid state. Under the new dispensation, immigration continues to be conceived of as a problem and the government has taken a violently offensive position against what it perceives as a danger to its national programme of social and economic upliftment (Crush, 1999; De Haan, 1999).

Migration has been a crucial element in the source of revenue strategies. Seidman (1999) argues that the discussion of apartheid's impact on black women has had a tendency to highlight the destabilisation of African households rather than the gender-based inequality within those households. Colonial policies influenced migration in

South Africa in varying ways that affected many communities. Decisions to migrate are generally part of a progressing effort, consistent with traditional values, to solve continuing problems that have to do with a balance between available resources and population numbers. Migration movements are rooted in societies' strategies to obtain livelihoods, and sociocultural structures give migration specific forms. Seidman (1999) asserts that, in several situations, migration does ease poverty, but it can also increase inequality. This impact on the shaping of inequality is due to the role culture plays in understanding issues pertaining to gender, migration and relationships (Curran & Saguy, 2013). Fine (2014) posits that the systems that were used for migration management in the colonial times were closely associated with racial oppression and the apartheid state. Both livelihood and employment opportunities are increased by migration (Kwankye & Anarfi, 2011; Mahmood, 2011).

Internal migrants in South Africa are more likely to go on without income, which forces them to depend on informal livelihood strategies; they may also have a lack or shortage of food. Furthermore, Vearey, Palmary, Thomas, Nunez and Drimie (2010) highlight the importance of the marginalised, informal sector in enabling poor urban migrant groups to survive in the city. Survivalist livelihood strategies are complex; while contributing to immediate survival, they are marginalised, vulnerable and very limited. Moreover, those residing in the central city are more likely to earn and experience better livelihood outcomes than those located on the periphery of the city. There is a need to explore the survivalist livelihood strategies of urban poor groups, in order to conceptualise how to support these livelihoods; this requires consideration of the structural factors underlying poverty, particularly around the vulnerability of livelihoods.

About 10.2 million people in South Africa live below the poverty line (Lehohla, 2014), depending on the income of one person, which is often insufficient to cater for the needs of the whole household. After 1994, social grants turned out to be one of the ways used to try and reduce poverty in South Africa. However, the problem is not just poverty but an obvious inequality that affects people on a daily basis (Marais, 2011). Marais (2011) asserts that almost half of the population in South Africa could be living in poverty and the reason for that is income inequality and an increasing unemployment rate. Loots and Walker (2015) indicate that, even though policies have been put in place in South Africa to curb gender inequality, for example the Women's Empowerment and Gender Equality Bill, and the Bill of Rights of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996), gender inequality is still evident in workplaces. Bower (2014) notes that, even with the South African Constitution being one of the best-written constitutions, women continue to be subjugated and the policies are far from being practised. Furthermore, women's situations regarding poverty, unemployment and gender inequality continue to be a challenge as many women continue to have minimal access to resources necessary for their upliftment. Bandiera and Natraj (2013) draw attention to the notion that progress has been made in improving women's educational level in most countries; however, there continues to be a gender gap both on economic and political levels in developed and developing countries. Gates (2014) highlights the need to address the gender inequality at play and further argues that, in order to see growth in our communities, we cannot continue with the oppression and disempowerment of women.

2.5 Gender roles

Women in South Africa continue to be affected by race-, class- and gender-based inequalities in gaining access to resources and opportunities (Kehler, 2013). There continues to be minimal access to resources, which mostly affects black rural women. The main determinants for people living on or below the poverty line are employment and income generation (Kehler, 2013). The notions of gender are as a result of social and cultural beliefs linking to the relations between women and men in society, social roles, attitudes and expectations (Kehler, 2013). Kehler (2013) further argues that the success or failure of South Africa's change process lies in moving from the theory of equality and discrimination to the practice of empowerment and socioeconomic upliftment of women and the poor.

In countries where gender roles are still very inflexible and the mother's main role is to raise children while the father's main role is to provide for the family, migration of mothers is perceived as a much larger disruption in a child's life than the father's absence. Cortes, 2015 assert that children with migrant fathers are mostly cared for by their mothers who can afford to stay at home while their fathers are away working; whereas children with migrant mothers rarely have fathers as primary caregivers while the mother is away working. When fathers migrate, it is seen as provision for the family, but when mothers migrate it is often seen as selfish neglect of their children (Keough; Moran-Taylor; Parrenas, as cited in Hofmann & Buckley, 2012).

Kabeer (2000) argues that, for some women, migration is seen as liberation from poverty and systems of patriarchy in their places of origin. Similarly, Dreby (2012) notes that women's migration has challenged gender separation of labour within families, and gender expectations have continued to be the most important subject.

Since mothers and fathers may be judged differently for leaving their children to migrate, as opposed to fathers, “migrant mothers bear the moral burdens of transnational parenting” (Dreby, 2010, p. 204). Furthermore, Frantz (2013), Mahdavi (2013), and Mkandawire-Valhmu, Rodriguez, Ammar and Nemoto (2009) bring a discourse to the notion of migration as emancipation from poverty and a system of patriarchy.

Even though there are complex reasons that result in migration for individuals, it affects women and men differently (Awumbila, 2015). Furthermore, Awumbila (2015) identifies the need to zoom in on the issue of how migration is shaped by the cultural and social contexts of an individual in a social group, and how politics inform decision about migration.

Migration of women can bring improvement in the lives of people they leave behind as well as bring change to gender roles and responsibilities, impacting positively on both the sending and receiving areas (Awumbila, 2015). Conversely, Kihato (2007) highlights that literature has shown an increase in the migration of women that focuses on the victimisation of women, and that women’s migration has been seen as a passive participation where they migrate in support of their spouse or as guardians to their children (Kihato, 2007). Arias (2013) is of the view that attention needs to be drawn to women as active participants in migration and further asserts that women’s participation in the economy has increased, that they participate in distant labour markets, and that they have proven themselves to not only be job seekers but job creators. Kihato (2007) notes that women play an active role in the migration process and should therefore not be perceived as helpless victims. Arias (2013) highlights that, even though there are perceived changes that may appear to be insignificant,

restrictions in women's migration link to the poor families in patriarchal societies based on hierarchical relations. Furthermore, Arias (2013) asserts that reasons to migrate can result from numerous factors, ranging from individual to socio-political circumstances.

Gender relations happen in a social context, knit with patriarchal family relations that are loaded with norms and ideals determined by inequality among family members (Arias, 2013). Kihato (2007), moreover, points out that we should not overlook the patriarchal oppression.

Ye et al. (2013) highlight the importance of integrating power and structure when analysing migration, looking at its complex nature, while Arias (2013) highlights that there is a great impact especially on women with regard to the power dynamics that exist that reinforce imbalance and inequality among household members. In certain instances, expression of grief is shown towards the social costs that the labour migrant has to tolerate during the migration process. On the other hand, it is important not to overlook the need for shifting labour from agriculture to industry in order to achieve modernisation, productivity and efficiency. Women's migration bears with traditional gender roles in some regions instead of changing them (Ye et al., 2013). For example, in Indonesia, women's migration is seen to have produced disagreement on traditional gender roles, threatening young men who looked to protect their masculinity. In rural villages, women that are left behind are likely to be disempowered if they depend on men for resources and information. General social change, cultural change and migration can help improve the status of women (Ye et al., 2013). In addition De Haan (1999) views migration as a vital part of society and as a standard of living, as opposed to it being an exclusion.

2.6 Plight and sacrifices of mothers

While migration is seen as a way to reduce poverty and unemployment, and raise economic efficiency, there are diverse views about the impact of migration on the well-being of those left behind. Chang et al. (2011) assert that children who do not live with their parents experience more psychological issues as compared to children that live with their parents.

Issoupova (2000) found that, when mothers who neglect their children were asked about the reasons for neglect, 50% referred to economic reasons, 20% referred to them being young and not being able to take up parental roles, and 20% were deserted by the child's father; 25% and 10% of these mothers respectively reported their parents' and friends negative attitudes as factors. Leaving children behind often happens in the context of poverty, lack of social support and single motherhood.

Women's labour is divided among female kin when women migrate. Kofman and Raghuram (2012) advocate that 'mother' is defined by caregiving and nurturing rather than a biological relationship, which becomes important in helping to raise the children and offering care where it is needed. However, the idea of 'mothering' has been observed as a normal female practice. Mothers spend a great deal of time, energy and money on raising their children (Madianou, 2012). Additionally, Maidianou (2012) recognises that women who have children are not just mothers, but people with numerous identities and wants. There seems to be differences between classes in the way in which families respond to migration. Migrant women sustain their connection and still offer advice from a distance. Kofman and Raghuram (2012) advocate that men might not take up the role to care for their children but seem to be in need of care when women migrate (Kofman & Raghuram, 2012). Motherhood has always been and

continues to be complex, whether the child is born in favourable conditions or not (Issoupova, 2000). In research conducted by Hughes, Chau and Vokri (2015) about mothers who are rejected and singled out (marginalised), it was found that mothers identify themselves as good mothers even in environments filled with violence, substance abuse, poverty, impregnation at a young age and mental health difficulties. All this is achieved by them constructing positive stories that allow them to portray themselves as ideal mothers (Hughes et al., 2015).

Lu (2012) speaks of the household strategy theory, which states that voluntary migration is first and foremost a household strategy intended to take full advantage of economic welfare at the household level. Family members in rural communities benefit from the remittance sent by migrant workers. Most migrant workers do low-paying jobs (Lu, 2012). The migration of woman labourers can also yield positive financial results for their families who are left behind. These financial assets will increase the way in which the families left behind live, where their quality of life will be enhanced, and they will thereby gain improved status in the communities.

Other positive results that can be derived from this form of migration relate to the possible urban exposure that the children left behind can have as opposed to the rural environments they are accustomed to. The children left behind might not literally or physically have direct exposure to the new urban environments; however, through information and idea-sharing from their migrant mothers or other forms of communication, they can have this different view that enhances their lives. This exposure will open whole new worlds for them, where they will have different hopes and dreams for their futures (Wen & Lin, 2012).

Migrants being separated from their children is common practice in South Africa. One of the ways in which parents can secure resources and encourage opportunities for their children is through labour migration. Nevertheless, parents' inability to stay with their children may increase social instability and reduce the children's well-being. There may be different reasons why parents migrate. Children rely on relatives to take care of them when parents migrate (Bennett, Hosegood, Newell, & McGrath, 2015). Coe (2012) also notes that the stages of childhood require care from an adult for development and nourishment and that the issues of socialisation and children's care are intertwined. Coe (2012) highlights that, historically, great value has been put on migrants as source of skill, new information and resources.

Dreby and Adkins (2012) highlight that children are affected by the migration of parents; however, little is known about these children and how they describe transnational families. Distance can be a disturbing factor in parenting, and while some parents make an effort to keep family ties, the ways in which children view these relationships remain relatively unknown and worthy of further investigation. Whether a person belongs in a specific family and how that is viewed is dependent on class, racial and ethnic background (Dreby & Adkins, 2012).

A study conducted in Ghana by Coe (2012) found that discourse about migration and migration patterns held by adults was copied by children in their comments, which simulated most of the adult discourse about migration; however, there were also variations in their socialisation. In a study conducted in Mexico, Dreby and Adkins (2012) concluded that migration does not interrupt children's idea of a family, but intensifies association within the family in the eyes of children.

In support of migration, McKay and Deshingkar (2014) demonstrate that internal remittance has a great impact, which highlights the impact of internal migration on poverty reduction. Even though it might not be a lot of money, the remittance plays a major role in alleviating poverty. In line with this view, Adhikari (2011) highlights that urban areas benefit from remittance and that the place of origin of migrants merely use remittance for survival (Adhikari, 2011). Anyanwu and Erhijakpor (2010) revealed that remittances are linked to greater income imbalances. Women migrants in general send more remittance than men, even though women receive lower wages than men. With this, Lopez-Ekra et al. (2011) argue that women remit more of their wages to their families and friends when compared to men. This point is also noted by Gates (2014), who highlights that women remit 10 times more than men in ensuring their families' well-being. It has been noted that, when women remit, their position in the family improves, thus improving their contribution in decision-making (Lopez-Ekra et al., 2011).

The total income from internal migrants' remittance in South Africa is 32% in rural households (Siddiqui, 2012). Although migration might not lessen poverty, Deshingkar (2005) advocates that it assists in preventing the families from getting deeper into poverty. According to Marx and Fleischer (2010), the remittance from internal migrants that is received by the household members that are left behind is used for educating the children. In South Africa, 52% of short-term migrants' remittance is used on the children's education (Siddiqui, 2012). Migrants regularly contribute to the welfare of their communities (Siddiqui, 2012). In Ghana, Kwankye and Anarfi (2011) found that the construction of community centres and schools was supported by the short-term

contracts of migrants. This shows the important role labour migrants play in developing our communities.

2.7 Women migrants' labour as 'emotional work'

Migration has evolved to be a great contributor to a country's economy. The increase of almost five million people in the previous decade leaving their countries in search of employment is likely to have a greater impact on the economy (Das, De Janvry, Mahmood, & Sadoulet, 2013). Migration every so often comprises separation from communities even when it is against the will and interest of people left behind. Migration is not an individual decision, but reasonably a family decision taken collectively. Women search for better jobs so that they can support their children (Arias, 2013). Even though women migrants make a choice to leave, they are forced by economic stresses and end up having to make the difficult choice to migrate (Gündüz, 2013). Katigbak (2015) notes that migrants are normally seen to migrate because of economic reasons and the emotional aspect of migration is often overlooked. Das et al. (2013) suggest that the majority of migrants are profiled to be poor and unskilled people from rural areas; however, these people are the main source of income for the households to which they belong. Hoobler (2016) asserts that there has been a decrease in time spent on care work in households in more developed countries, which suggests that someone is making up for the care work. Women who cannot pay for care use their family members to care for their children (Hoobler, 2016). Boccagni (2013) highlights the way in which care shrinks in the lives of women migrants offering care work in other places. Aulenbacher, Innreiter-Moser and Palenga-Möllennebeck (2013) further note that the continuous subcontracting of care work is as a result of the shortage of care work in modern families.

Migrant domestic work is a usual form of emotional labour (Pratt, 2012). “The work of looking after the physical, psychological, emotional and developmental needs of one or more people ... [embracing] a range of human experiences and relationships of obligation, trust, loyalty and commitment concerned with the well-being of other” (Boccagni, 2013, p. 224). Care work is emotional work in that women migrants who are care workers focus their attention and love on the children of their employers, removing it from their own children (Gündüz, 2013).

Domestic work is seen as low-paying work. Most domestic workers come from disadvantaged communities, and these workers are mainly women who are migrants (Budlender, 2011). Hoobler (2016) and Parrenas (2012) explain care work as follows: more privileged women may subcontract care work in their homes, which can be at the expense of the women that provide care and their families. The concept of care gain and care drain is explained as follows: “It is often migrants that perform care work, while leaving their own families behind; the receiving countries’ ‘care gain’ thus results in the sending countries’ ‘care drain” (Aulenbacher et al., 2013, p.558). However, Parrenas (2012) highlights the shortfall of the definition of a ‘care chain’, saying that it overlooks most of the work that migrant care workers really do, which is doing the dirty work of cleaning homes.

Fine (2014, p. 20) explains the term vulnerable workers as “workers who are working in isolated situations (like domestic workers, farm workers and workers in very small companies) or are self-employed are extra vulnerable.” Kofman and Raghuram (2012) highlight that the opportunities for women in the workforce in some middle-income countries have shaped the growing need for domestic work. The care chains in the developed world came about as a result of the need for domestic and care work, and

while migrant women take care of children of the women they work for, they entrust their own children to the care of other women (Madianou, 2012).

Kofman and Raghuram (2012) assert that, when women migrate, they mostly migrate to provide care in different ways and different locations; furthermore, these migrant women maintain an active relationship even from afar. For this reason, women challenge the myth of seeing men as the ultimate main source of income and that women instead are homemakers (Kofman & Raghuram, 2012). However, not enough effort has been made to professionalise domestic work in private houses (Anderson, 2012). Anderson (2012) highlights the difficulty in measuring the skill required for domestic work and the reason for this is because of the 'skill' associated with the female gender. The construction of care associations worldwide is produced by power relations determined by gender, class and race (Gündüz, 2013). Bauer and Österle (2013) highlight struggles that care workers can encounter, such as always being surrounded by the employer, not having free time, being tired, and sometimes suffering abuse. For this reason, Arias (2013) alludes that it is easy to manipulate and discipline migrants that are separated from their places of origin.

Because care work is still seen as work for women, women still endure the burden of care work (Gündüz, 2013). Both the feminist critique on the care chains approach and the political economy of care have contributed notably to the literature on migration, which used to be subjugated by economic analyses, for instance, the motivations for migration (Madianou, 2012).

The focus of care chains on structural factors does not recognise the difficulties of international mothering and thus does not give a great deal to migrants themselves. Being a mother has been classified by one's ability to nurture and care for others.

Motherhood is implanted in the social and cultural policy (Madianou, 2012). Because care work is still seen as work for women, this notion oppresses both women in the middle class who work hard and under harsh conditions, who can afford to hire women in the lower class but also perpetuate the same harsh conditions to their domestic workers, and women in the lower class who then work under these harsh conditions (Gündüz, 2013). Holtmann and Tramonte (2014) assert that, in order to understand women's lives, a number of feminist scholars have pointed to the need for addressing the connectivity of several forms of variance and inequality together with gender, class and ethnicity/race. Williams and Graham (2014) assert that most women migrants may be in danger of market exploitation, sexual violence and human trafficking.

Lee and Piper (2013) define gender, class and race as triple oppression and explain how the terms relate to migration in that socially women migrant labourers are divided, and experience oppression and inequality. Lee and Piper (2013) explain many of the structures that can pose difficulties in attaining jobs for women migrants; for example, it becomes difficult for certain ethnic groups to get jobs in a limited range of sectors (for example, domestic work can be performed by poor black women). In explaining how gender, class and race relate to migration, Lee and Piper (2013) assert that women's identities are viewed in light of their role in the family as a mother, daughter or wife only, overlooking their ability to perform other jobs. Most women work in feminine spaces where they are expected to perform specific work, for example domestic and child care work, hospitality work and sex work. Because women migrant labourers are often without jobs, they end up settling for any jobs that are readily available, which often causes society to see them as unskilled, hence the classification. Migrant women are often faced with discrimination that can result from

multiple structures such as patriarchal regimes and social hierarchies that are responsible for frequently shaping the political, economic and sociocultural institutions in a manner that is prejudicial to marginalised women.

Because of the economic pressures for migrants who cannot remit to their left-behind family members, they often have negative emotional well-being (Smit & Rugunanan, 2015). Smit and Rugunanan (2015) found that women who had separated from their families because they needed to migrate were sad because of this. Holtmann and Tramonte (2014) highlight that women who are immigrants, even with qualifications, experience difficulty attaining jobs irrespective of whether they are highly qualified. Furthermore, these women end up taking up low-skilled jobs or even taking up care work jobs so that their children can go to school and become educated (Holtmann & Tramonte, 2014).

Care work is not held in high esteem in terms of monetary value and is often assigned as people go along (Parrenas, 2012). For domestic workers, the migrant workers, who are (black) women, would perform unskilled work (for example cleaning the house and doing laundry), while the employers would be involved in reading to the children and offering them emotional support (Parrenas, 2012). Anderson (2012) also notes that, because care work is viewed as low-skilled labour, the wage levels might be low; not only that, but there might be a career boundary within the care work sector, and for many people it is seen as 'low status job for life' instead of being viewed as a 'foot on a career ladder', hence it becomes easy to replace workers. Parrenas (2012) also highlights racial and gender inequalities when it comes to migrant care work, mentioning that black women mostly do domestic work, and lower-level nurses and women who work in cafeterias are mostly black women. Some domestic workers (care

workers) are forced to stay with their employers, which means they will offer support 24 hours a day. Gündüz (2013) views this notion as sharing the same sentiments as the 'master-and-servant' relationship, saying that it deprives the women migrants from socialisation, integration into the new society and their human rights. Moreover, Gündüz (2013) continues to say that, most of the time, migrant women have to battle with the same opinion and guilt of leaving their families behind.

There is a reflection of a colonial relationship in care chains. Gündüz (2013) clarifies this by noting that oppression, force and killings were used in the past to steal raw materials from Africa to Asia and notes the similarities between this and the way that emotional work has been taken over by modern-day colonialism.

Holmes and Burrows (2012) assert that some migrants become disappointed with their idea of migrating for a 'better life' when it does not materialise, for example when they do not find jobs as they had hoped, the weather is not as good as they had perceived or living conditions are not favourable; some even begin to feel homesick. Boccagni (2013) asserts that women migrants do not put their own needs first but always place the needs of others before their own; furthermore, mothers who are migrant care workers belong in both the sending and receiving area and are least supported by either of the environments in ensuring their needs are accommodated.

Katigbak (2015) explains that emotions are strongly linked to remittance, hence the word emotional remittance, which signifies that true remittance is emotional. Furthermore, emotional remittance is mostly seen by those involved in it as a sign of love and concern. Remittance is a concrete way of measuring that migrants do not break the link with the family left behind. Katigbak (2015) asserts that being part of the

family does not only entail feelings, but also provision of scarce resources. In this instance, if a family is living in poverty it would make sense to migrate and remit.

Hofmann and Buckley (2012) identify that economic forces lead to temporary labour migration. Gender norms and the perceptions that men continue to be breadwinners while women are seen as caretakers of the house (for example, taking care of children and elderly people, and cooking) continue to be at the centre of women's labour migration. Hofmann and Buckley (2012) explain that women migrants associate migration with the well-being of the family more than men migrants. The social construction of a woman as a 'proper' woman by the family is defined by women who stay home and care for their children. Parrenas (2012) asserts that care goes beyond the notion of face-to-face contact, but remittances of migrants can be seen as a labour of caring. Gündüz (2013) asserts that mothers will continue to care for the children even from afar and continue to struggle with the discourse of migration: on the one hand, they are celebrated for improving the lives of the family they left behind (for example, better education, health care and food) by sending remittance, but on the other hand they are being condemned for migrating by the same family or sometimes neighbours; furthermore, they are labelled as chasers of money and materialistic. In investigating how women migrants construct their social needs, Boccagni (2013) found that women did not only want remittance to be described as providing financially, but also that remittance signifies loyalty, commitment and enabling a better life to the left-behind family.

There is acknowledgement that many migrants keep in contact with people in their place of origin even if they may be incorporated in their destination area (Levitt, 2009). When sanctions against African urbanisation were lifted in South Africa, it was

expected that permanent migration patterns would form and circular migration would gradually be substituted, mainly in the urban areas, and it was expected that the ties migrants had with their households of origin would be weakened (Posel & Casale, 2003).

Caneva (2014) contends that kinship progresses in everyday life, and that separation of children from their mothers for a long time renders them disadvantaged. She further highlights that, although these children may struggle in negotiating family relationships with their mothers, these children may possibly be an active agent in family relations, unlike children who are helpless and depend on a parent to decide for them. The issue of family reintegration reveals that children take an active role in the family migration process, particularly in the negotiation, constructing and opposition of family relations (Caneva, 2014). Coe (2012) writes that migration scholars should concentrate on the viewpoint of children when it comes to migration, saying that the standpoint of children assists us to comprehend whether children are being socialised into their community's culture of migration, and migration patterns and flow in this instance is shaped by that culture. Women's mobility gives way to possible transformation of gender norms. The generation of negotiations on cultures of migration does not only involve the migrants, but also the connections with people who are left behind, the ones they meet along the way and the societies they meet in the destination area (Coe, 2012).

Migrant labourers have a strong feeling of accountability towards their kin, and out of duty they need to provide monetary support (Smit & Rugunanan, 2015).

2.8 Conclusion

Labour migration in South Africa used to be predominantly practised by men. The restriction of women migrating worsened the gender roles that made it difficult for women to migrate. Additionally, gender roles subjugated the women and defined their roles as caregivers only, overruling their rights and their ability to provide. This chapter presented literature relating to the various ways in which women's migration is understood, problematised and engaged with by various scholars. I attempted to draw parallels and highlight the different lenses and focuses that many scholars, both locally and internationally, used to delve into the idea of migration in general and women migration in particular. In the next chapter, I discuss the methodology and theoretical framework used for the study.

Chapter 3

Methodology and theoretical framework

3.1 Introduction

There is probably still little appetite for a single theory of migration in the research community – indeed the ‘fragmented set of theories’ can be read as a strength in the diversity of approaches that characterise Migration Studies (Van Hear, 2010, p. 1535).

A qualitative approach was employed for this study. Qualitative approaches assist in learning about and gaining an understanding of how a person or group gives meaning to a social or human problem. My study aimed to gain an understanding of how women perceive and make meaning of the notion of children left behind. I looked at the Themes that emerged and the way in which the community women of Madelakufa spoke about women leaving their children as a result of migration. Qualitative research was beneficial as it allowed me to gain an in-depth understanding of how the phenomenon is given meaning within the community.

As elaborated in chapter 1, the aim of the study was to explore Tembisa women’s perceptions of women migrant labourers as they connect to the notion of children left behind. Given this purpose, a qualitative approach was employed to address the research questions. Qualitative research is normally described in terms of using words (Creswell, 2013). Critical feminist theory was employed as a theoretical lens, which acted as an overall compass for the study with regard to questions of gender, class and race (or other issues of marginalised groups). This theoretical lens informed the type of questions I asked and assisted in providing me with tools to approach and

make sense of the data I gathered. In this chapter, the research processes are addressed. These include the research site, sampling, data collection and data analysis. I also address the ethical concerns relevant to this study that need to be taken in consideration when conducting this type of research.

3.2 Paradigmatic perspective

The study explored the perceptions of women regarding children left behind as a result of migrant labour, and for this I drew from a social constructionist approach as a lens to guide my study. "Social constructionism is a theory of knowledge that considers how social phenomena or objects of consciousness develop in social contexts" (Silber, 2013, p. 1879). This approach treats people as though their thoughts, feelings and experiences are the products of systems or meanings that exist at a social rather than an individual level (Terre Blanche, Durrheim, & Painter, 2006). Social constructionism was appropriate for this study as it aimed to look at the subjective experiences of the participants in the study. It is a well-recognised thought that the construction of information is a procedure of co-construction of meanings through partaking in social interactions and discursive activity. Irrespective of how the process of education is seen, the spread of knowledge, knowledge attainment and how knowledge is created, teachings behind these ideas consistently try to find awareness (White, 2013).

Social constructionism does not refute genetic influences but focuses on looking at social influences on the collective and individual life. It assumes that all other parts of humanity are formed, preserved and destroyed through our connections with others over the course of time (Owen, 1995). There is no universal human nature because of the differences in the various contexts within which people exist. Social constructionism challenges the notion of objectivity, especially within the human

sciences, since all processes entail subjective experience and meaning making. Therefore, the way of knowing is subject to people's subjective experiences (Boghossian, 2001).

The ideology of motherhood is conceptualised as a powerful force in determining the lives and experiences of women. This approach highlights how the ideology of motherhood is linked to power structures in social contexts and the word 'mothering' is framed in terms of historical time, place, race, social status and constructions of gender (Cowdery & Knudson-Martin, 2005). Social constructionists look at how, for instance through language, meaning and understanding become an essential part of human life, and how these meanings come about as a result of social interactions (Silber, 2013). People constantly search for meaning and an understanding of the world in which they live and work (Creswell, 2012). As a researcher, I aimed to gain an understanding of how the participants navigated the world and made sense of experiences that they continuously encountered – in this case, I focused on their perceptions of the notion of women migrant labourers. I was specifically looking at the ways in which the community women of Madelakufa, Tembisa, perceived women migrants and the notion of children left behind.

3.3 Theoretical formulation

Feminist theory emphasises and pays particular attention to issues of discrimination against and oppression of women (Terre Blanche et al., 2006). It focuses on challenging the perpetual power imbalances that often function to exclude and include people based on things such as gender. This theoretical framework assisted as another lens for this study.

Feminist theory has evolved over time. Its main focus used to be issues relating to sexism and oppression, occupation and domestic role status or position, as well as on sexual and reproductive issues. The recent evolution of feminist theory has resulted in it also focusing on the experiences of the oppression suffered by subgroups of women such as black women, lesbians and working-class women. In South Africa, the subgroup issues include conditions that relate to the economic and social conditions of rural women, women's health, women's educational levels and women's responsibility in childbearing (Terre Blanche et al., 2006). Davis (2008) discusses intersectionality as a word invented in 1989 by Kimberlé Crenshaw, a feminist theorist, legal advocate and global activist who noted that intersectionality denotes the interface or interaction between race, gender and other groupings that highlight the differences people have. Furthermore, it refers to community norms, formally recognised arrangements and cultural principles, and the outcomes of these connections and interrelations in terms of power.

According to Davis (2008), the challenges experienced by black women fall between feminist and antiracist discourse. She argues that scholars and researchers need to consider both race and gender and how these interact with each other to give a clearer view of the challenges faced by marginalised poor black women as opposed to those faced by white women. Smith (2013) also notes that black women are not only discriminated against by only racism or sexism, but by a mixture of both. Therefore, intersectionality is suited to explore the categories of race, class and gender, and how these are mutually intertwined (Davis, 2008). Davis (2008) continues to state that intersectionality relates to questions that speak to how race is gendered, how gender is racialised and how both race and gender can affect community social status. This is

also seen when Smith (2013) highlights that black women suffer multiple oppression of both racism and sexism yet are often dismissed as racism is often regarded as being experienced by black men and sexism is seen as something white women will experience. Intersectionality describes the way in which black women are oppressed; therefore, it should be considered by any analyst that seeks to address issues on sexism or racism (Smith, 2013)

These are the social contradictions by Sojourner Truth found in Smith (2013):

If women are allegedly passive and fragile, then why are Black women treated as 'mules' and assigned 'heavy cleaning chores? If good mothers are supposed to stay at home with their children, then why are US Black women on public assistance forced to find jobs and leave their children in day care? If women's highest calling is to become mothers, then why are Black teen mothers pressured to use Norplant and Depo Provera?

These questions relate to my study as they highlight the plight of working women who are working as hard as men are but are not getting the recognition and applause that men are receiving. Instead, women are ridiculed and judged harshly when they leave their children behind and go to work for their benefit.

For this study, I drew on critical feminist theory, which is not only concerned with identifying how social perceptions need to be changed, but also states that transformation can assist in redefining social institutions, contributing to new ways of social change in the process. Critical feminist theorists confront the need to change social arrangements. Critical feminist theory in this context examines rival power

interests between groups and individuals within society, identifying who gains and losses in specific situations (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2002).

According to De Saxe (2012), critical feminist theory calls for us to rethink our current understandings of knowledge, power and spaces of empowerment. The theory belongs to diverse schools of thought within the field. For example, Chela Sandoval calls it a differential consciousness. Sandoval's framework assists in understanding numerous sources of empowerment and resistance that build up a great deal of critical feminist thought. Sandoval regards four historically major social movements, which are the equal-rights form, the revolutionary form, the supremacist form and the separatist form. This framework encourages uniting and promising to reach across disciplines and forms of resistance to better effect and engage in democratic social justice (Sandoval, 2000).

For the purpose of this study, I drew from bell hook's framework. She challenges the politics of domination as they are marked in the imperialist, capitalist, racist and sexist way of understanding the world, and believes that these should be challenged and changed (hooks, 1986). She views women as having varied and complex social realities; therefore, we cannot use the idea of 'common oppression' (hooks, 1986). bell hooks emphasise that the feminist movement does not only favour women over men, but rather points our focus to systems of domination and how they are intertwined with sex, race and class oppression (hooks, 1987). She contends that both females and males have been socialised from birth to accept sexist thought and action, and as a result, women can be as sexist as men. With all this being said, she challenges male domination (hooks, 2000). While it has been easier for women who are not affected by class and race to only focus on gender, it is crucial to zoom into the lived experiences

that confront the prevailing classist, sexist, racist social structures and the ideology associated with them. The past feminist refusal to draw notice to and attack racial hierarchies restrained the connection between race and class (hooks, 2005). bell hooks' framework assisted me in highlighting the ways in which class, race and gender influences migration patterns in South African (both in the past and in the present).

Problematizing race, class and gender assisted in understanding the issue of migration in context, as well as in critical discussions around the reasons that lead women to leave their children and the implications thereof. There is continuous change in critical feminist thought that builds up new methodologies of resistance. This will assist us to continuously reframe and to reassess our thinking processes and, afterwards, we can start on a route to change (De Saxe, 2012). Feminist scholars are adorned in power relations which they oppose or possibly support (Mohanty, 1988).

We need to critically question how the world has expansively been categorised into different boxes (Loftsdóttir, 2011). Critical theory comprises taking a critical stance by looking into and revealing misuse, oppression, inequalities, unfairness and false consciousness. Feminist theory argues for the need to ease the disparities of power, create social equality and assist in addressing the experiences of women (Syme Anderson, 2012). Critical feminist theory assisted me in highlighting the multidimensional aspects, namely, political, social and economic aspects, of women's experiences.

3.4 Research process

3.4.1 *Research site and context*

The study was conducted in Gauteng, South Africa, in the township of Tembisa, in an area called Madelakufa. Tembisa, meaning 'Promise', is a township which came into existence in 1957 as a result of the displacement of black people who lived in Alexandra Township who were relocated to or forcefully moved to live in Tembisa (Bonner & Nieftagodien, 2008). This history continues to haunt people today, contributing to continuing migration processes. This history is critical as it assists in contextualising the notion of migration and its inception, and it is against this background that this study was conceptualised. Tembisa is situated 17km from a suburban area called Kempton Park, which is part of Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality. Tembisa, which covers an area of 42.80 km², has a population of 463 109, consisting of 166 340 households (Statistics South Africa, 2011). However, this information does not include Madelakufa, an informal settlement which was not included in the official census counting. Madelakufa informal settlement was formed in 1992, with approximately 10 000 shacks (Misago, Monson, Polzer & Landau, 2010) and about 20 000 to 30 000 people living in the area; however, all these numbers are estimates as there are no official statistics about the area (Graham, 2012). Madelakufa is divided into two phases: phase I and phase II, consists of about 70% informal settlements, where the study took place, and 30% Reconstruction and Development Programme housing (Monson, 2010). The population consists of various groups of people, namely, AmaZulu, VhaVenda, BaPedi, Basotho, Batswana, Amashangaan, AmaNdebele and AmaXhosa. The majority of people living there are Xhosa-speaking (Misago et al., 2010).

3.4.2 Access, entry and preparation

The recruitment of participants was facilitated through a gatekeeper, the community leader of Madelakufa, as “it is important to gain access to research or archival sites by seeking the approval of gatekeepers” (Creswell, 2013, p. 166). I conducted two focus groups which went according to plan and a third focus group that was not included in the data analysis. I shall elaborate on this below.

One of the challenges I came across was that the participants assumed that I was there to make their lives better or hoped that they would be offered jobs as entry was gained through the community leader, who is also actively involved in projects that assist in the alleviation of poverty in the community. Entry through him led to expectations from members of the community, something I had to resolve at the very beginning of the study so as to not create false hope or expectations.

Another challenge that I came across was that the third focus group was held around the time when the local government elections in South Africa were about to take place; this also led to people thinking that they would receive remuneration for participating in the study. Again, this misconception had to be cleared up by clearly explaining the purpose of the study before the focus group could take place, and the focus group was not included in the data analysis (see Chapter 5). These expectations from the participants speak to the hardships that many of the people within that context face, a point I revisit further in this dissertation.

3.4.3 Sampling

Purposive sampling was employed for the selection of participants. Purposive sampling is widely used in qualitative research for the identification and selection of

information-rich cases related to the phenomenon of interest (Suri, 2011). According to Patton (cited in Knafl, 1991, p. 73) “the logic and power of purposeful sampling lie in selecting information-rich cases for study in depth.” Information-rich cases are described as cases where a person can learn more about the topic under discussion (Knafl, 1991). Purposive sampling was used in this study to ensure that certain elements were included in the sample. I was interested in the perceptions of women aged between 20 and 50 who resided in the Madelakufa community. According to the Eastern Cape report by Makiwane and Chimere (2010, p. 119), “the peak migration age is within 20-39, although there are comparatively more people in the migrant population in the wide active working age range of 20 to 64 years”. Being a migrant was not a criterion for participation of this study, even though Madelakufa is an informal settlement and people would automatically assume that people who stay there are migrants, not all people there are migrants. To get the conversation going and to prevent labelling, I intentionally selected women within the community who were willing to participate in the study to engage and discuss the perceptions they had about women migrating and their children who are left behind. The women I selected were not asked if they themselves were migrants or not, as I wanted general perceptions and was not targeting women migrants. I also used snowball sampling, where the participants referred me to other participants who fit the inclusion criteria (Ritchie, Lewis, Nicholls, & Ormston, 2013), namely, other women in Madelakufa between the ages of 20 and 50. Appointments were made with the women through the community leader, who then made sure that the women were in the same venue on the date set for the focus group.

3.4.4 Collection of data

Data were collected using focus groups. “A focus group interview is an interview with a small group of people on a specific topic” (Flick, 2009, p. 209). This group must not be seen as a problem-solving session, but as an interview. One of the benefits of using focus groups is that they are low-cost and offer rich data. The other benefit is that focus groups stimulate talks, and people become conscious of meanings and negotiate these among themselves (Flick, 2009). The participants spoke a variety of languages, which included Sepedi, isiZulu, isiXhosa and English, all of which I can speak fluently.

All these languages were spoken during the focus groups; while participants responded in their own languages, the women could understand each other. Three focus groups were conducted on three different dates as a way to get as much representation as possible. The first group consisted of six women lasted for 41 minutes and 19 seconds, the second consisted of eight women and lasted for 1 hour 48 minutes, and the third group consisted of 10 women and lasted for an hour. Data collected from the third focus group could not be used as the data were corrupted because the focus group was held during the local elections in South Africa and I was perceived as someone who represented the political parties and somehow blamed for lack of service delivery in the community. As a result, women in the third focus group refused to interact and were only voicing their frustrations towards the government. Open-ended conversational style interviewing was used as it allowed the participants to share freely without feeling inhibited by closed questions. A meeting was requested with the women to introduce the study and extend the invitation to participate. Those who were willing to participate in the study were requested to attend a meeting where the purpose of the study was explained. Upon agreeing to participate in the study, the

participants signed a consent form which I read in English and further explained in the dominant language of the group. The languages that were used for the study were isiZulu, Sepedi, English and isiXhosa, and the majority of people in Madelakufa spoke isiXhosa. I asked the participants' permission to tape record the conversations prior to conducting the interview.

3.4.5 Data analysis

Upon completing data collection, thematic analysis was used to make meaning of the discussions that were had during the focus groups. Data were transcribed verbatim (Creswell, 2013). The transcripts were analyzed thematically, following the steps of thematic analysis outline by Braun & Clarke (2006). Thematic analysis can be defined as "a method for systematically identifying, organizing, and offering insight into patterns of meaning (themes) across a data set" (Braun & Clarke, 2012, p. 57). This method of analysis was suitable for this study because in qualitative research, thematic analysis is an important method for the identification and analysing patterns. Furthermore, this method of analysis was relevant to this study because it is compatible with constructionist paradigms in psychology (Braun & Clarke, 2006). According to Braun & Clarke, "thematic analysis conducted within a constructionist framework cannot and does not seek to focus on motivation or individual psychologies, but instead seeks to theorize the sociocultural contexts, and structural conditions, that enable the individual accounts that are provide" (2006, p. 85) . Therefore, the use of thematic analysis did not focus on individual experiences from the focus group, but on the socially constructed ideas grouped as themes.

Furthermore, thematic analysis allowed me to identify commonalities in the way the women spoke about their views of migrant women laborers. However, it is important to note that what is common is not necessarily meaningful (Braun & Clarke, 2012).

The steps that were followed are discussed below,

3.4.5.1 Familiarisation

Familiarisation involves immersion in data by reading and re-reading. This phase started before the interviews were transcribed and translated by a professional translator. During this step, I listened to the audio tapes from the focus groups and noted preliminary themes and observations that seemed relevant to the results. Note-taking is important in this phase and allows one to read the data as data, meaning that the words are read analytically, critically and reading for meaning (Braun & Clarke, 2012).

3.4.5.2 Generating initial codes

Saldaña (2009, p. 3) defines a code as a "word or short phrase that symbolically assigns a summative, salient, essence-capturing, and/or evocative attribute for a portion of language-based or visual data". The data were coded following an inductive approach. An inductive approach to data coding involves a bottom-up process and is driven by the content of the data (Braun & Clarke, 2012). However, there were elements of deductive coding as I did not approach the data devoid of theoretical concepts and ideas that I came with into the research process. Therefore, this step covered both the semantic and conceptual reading of data. An inductive approach was chosen for its flexibility in identifying perspectives and views of the participants and not

just theoretical concepts. All the elements that seemed important to the research question were coded at this point.

3.4.5.3 Searching for themes

From the codes that were initially identified from the data while generating initial codes, some codes were discarded and others were grouped together. At this point, I searched for ideas that captured “something important about the data in relation to the research question” (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 82) and that formed patterns throughout the transcripts from different focus groups conducted. Consistent with social constructionism, this step allowed me to identify patterns of meaning and perceptions at a social rather than an individual level (Terre Blanche, Durrheim, & Painter, 2006). All the meaningful codes were grouped under preliminary themes along with excerpts from the data which represented that particular code. At this point the data were ready for the themes to be reviewed.

3.4.5.4 Reviewing themes

This step entailed reading through the data and making sure that the themes related to the extracts from the codes and data set. This phase is about quality checking (Braun & Clarke, 2012) the patterns/themes identified in the previous phase. Firstly, the extracts from the transcripts were checked for coherence with the theme. Furthermore, some themes were discarded as they overlapped with others, while some themes were merged. Secondly, the themes were reviewed in relation to the entire data set to ensure relevance and to ensure that the most important aspects were covered in relation to the research question.

3.4.5.5 Defining and naming themes

Defining and naming themes entailed giving a name to each theme and identifying the essence of each theme. Each theme must tell a story that is aligned to the overall story (Braun & Clarke, 2012). This process involved the naming and description of each theme, which overlapped slightly with the next step (writing up the report).

3.4.5.6 Writing up

Writing up is the most essential aspect of the analytic process in thematic Analysis, and shows the transitional process between coding and the final write-up of the study (Saldaña, 2009) . This process allowed me to provide a logical and a convincing story about the data while also making sure that the context was relevant to the existing literature.

3.5 Ethical issues

Codes of ethics are ethical rules and principles drafted by professional associations that govern scholarly research in specific disciplines (Creswell, 2013). I obtained an ethical clearance certificate from the Ethics Committee of the Department of Psychology at Unisa for the research proposal, which allowed me to conduct the research. I took ethics into consideration during this study by ensuring that I obtained consent from the participants prior to their participation. The study was explained and permission to participate had to be noted before the study could commence. Terre Blanche et al. (2006) assert that the main purpose of research ethics is to look after the interests of the research participants, but it also focuses on issues relating to misconduct and plagiarism. It is worth noting that, because of the nature of focus groups, individual confidentiality was encouraged but could not be guaranteed.

Information about the study was disclosed prior to participation in the study. The study was explained and clarified where necessary, and participants were notified that they could withdraw their participation from the study at any time. Participants were told prior to the study that they would not receive payment for participating in the study. However, as a sign of courtesy, tea and cakes were served after each focus group.

3.6 Ensuring trustworthiness

Trustworthiness is about transferability, which demonstrates that the findings can be applicable in other contexts. I ensured that the findings were consistent and that it would be possible for the findings to be repeated in future by similar studies (Lincoln & Guba, 1986). Conformability involves the extent to which neutrality is achieved. This involved the way in which the findings of the study were shaped by the participants and not my own bias and interest (Schwandt, Lincoln, & Guba, 2007).

3.7 Summary

This chapter presented social constructionism as a paradigm perspective, critical feminist theory as the theoretical framework underpinning the study, and the research process. The research process comprised the research site and context, access, entry and preparation, sampling, and collection of data. Thematic analysis was described as a tool of analysis. Ethical considerations and trustworthiness were also discussed. The next chapter reports on the results of the study and analysis of the results.

Chapter 4

Results, analysis and discussion

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I provide the results emanating from the study and a discussion of the themes that arose from engaging with the data. As discussed in the preceding chapter, the focus group participants spoke a combination of a number of languages, namely, isiZulu, isiXhosa, Sepedi and a hint of English. In order to remain authentic to the women's voices and to keep their voices audible, I chose not to translate them. Since the academic world is dominated by the English language, minorities/other cultures lose their representation and autonomy when their life experiences have to be translated into another language. Living in South Africa where we have eleven official languages, giving voice and platform to marginalised indigenous language, is a form of reclaiming selfhood and identity.

Below, I discuss the five themes that were drawn from the three focus groups discussions conducted, namely:

1. Motherhood: A good mother versus a bad mother.
2. The complexities of leaving children behind.
3. Uzosokola namaQualifications.
4. Challenges faced by children.
5. Gender roles: Childrearing as woman's work.

In discussing these themes, I draw heavily on and provide extensive excerpts from the focus groups so as to allow the presence of the participants' perceptions without being clouded by my interpretation of their experiences. A common thread ran through the

focus groups: 'Isimo' (The situation). Women kept making reference to the 'Isimo', which I would like to refer to as the overarching umbrella theme around which all the others converge.

4.2 Motherhood: A good mother versus a bad mother

Motherhood is not only based on the ability to provide financially but is also judged on the physical presence of a mother. Good mothers are validated by others when they show acts of love and caring for their children in particular, and their whole families more generally. The concept of motherhood is judged according to how mothers relate to their children and, in cases where mothers are not proximally close to their children due to work, they are judged as bad mothers when they do not live with their children. However, as seen in the reflections below from women who took part in the study, some mothers leave their children because they love them. The excerpts below show how a good mother is constructed in relation to women migrant labourers:

PARTICIPANT 7 (D1): *They feel bad, like a gona parent e ratang bana go feta mme motswadi. Like umama noma angahamba a move from one place to another ashiye abantwana, it's rare ukuthi ungathola umama akhohlwe abantwana bakhe. It's very rare, I think it's only 2% that abandons children. 98% even if e le gore mme aka fudua a sa sebetsi, o tla utlwa a thoma a bua ka bana ba hae. Because wa banahana gore ke mo ke dutshe I'm eating, bana baka what are they eating.*

PARTICIPANT 6 (D2): *Mara abanye Joyce masibeni fair, abanye bayafika la awuthole umsebenzi, athole indoda. Akhohlwe ukuthi ushiye abantwana*

emuva, sekanaka indoda, uthengela indoda indlu, uthengela i family yendoda yonke into. wuye osekashada naleyo ndoda leyo.

PARTICIPANT 2 (D2): *Mara leyo oyikhulumayo, ku 99%, yi 2%.*

PARTICIPANT 4 (D1): *Ikayi 2, like kukhona abazo understand ukuthi abazali bazele umsebenzi so abana choice nabo kwamele basebenze. Kukhona vele abanye abazothini, bashiye abantwana. Abanandaba nabantwana. Abafani vele abantu. Yiko ngithi umphakathi awukhulumi into eyi 1, bazokhuluma izinto ezihlukile. Awufani umphakathi; abanye bazovumelana ngokuthi ba right, abanye bazothi ba wrong bashiye abantwana. Kunabanye abazali umuntu ahambe angasaphinde abuye; umtwana agcine amfuna ku Khumbulekhaya i example so. Uthole ukuthi umzali sekashonile or kukhona into eyenzakalayo. Kukhona abazali vele abahamba bayofuna umsebenzi bangaphinde babuye, nawe uze ukhule ube nabantwana. Or uthole ukuthi izinto zakho azihambi kahle kugcine kuthiwa kufuneka umama wakho, izinto ezinjalo. Ikayi 2 lento, so mina ngingathi umphakathi ungavumelana uphinde futhi ungavumelani. Ku depender ngesimo.*

PARTICIPANT 7 (D1): *Yona I depender nge situation. Cause some, motho a tle Gauteng. A be le that luck athole mosebetsi, ga afetsa mo a tshwarwe ke tsa Gauteng a lebale gore o siile bana ko gae, it's not a matter ya gore ga a kgone goya. She's got an income a ka ea every month or maybe or every 2 months for bale gore batswa gole. Mara motho a lebale gore o siile bana. A tswarewe ke monate. Some ga fihla mo athola mereko, wa kgopola gore o na le bana, maybe every 2 months I have to go home to see the children. People*

are not the same, some are ignorant and others do consider the way life e leng ka teng. Wa tseba gore ke siile bana, dark or blue I have to go home.

PARTICIPANT 2 (D2): *Uya understand ukuthi iba kanjani, so mina angiboni into e wrong ukuthi abashiye le emakhaya, ngibona kuyinto e right cos uma iphela inyanga uyabapha. O wrong yilo othi makafika la e Goli avele akhohlwe nje ngabantwana bakhe tu tu tu. Cos bekuno munye futhi sekahambile, sekagcine ashonile. Wahamba athi uzofuna umsebenzi la e Goli, since lesi sikhathi bamgcina; wabuyela ekhaya sekagula, unabantwana seabadala abantwana bakhe. Leyo i wrong, azange acabangele abantwana bakhe, uvele waba neglecter. So mina I can say i right but abanye ba wrong. Uyabo, ngingayibeka kanjalo nje.*

PARTICIPANT 7 (D1): *Ba bang totally, they don't. Motho wa lebala le gore ke na le bana. Le motho a setseng le bana ugcina a sa gathala, motho o sale aya, gasa fowuna; ga satla; ga saetsa niks. And le bad treatment, sometimes e thoma ke gore obviously people are saying ke dula gaufi le Maria, ke a mo bona. Ga ke fithla gae ba botsisa gore o sale wa gcina Maria neng, ke a babotsa gore ke mogcine maubane ga re tshaesa. Ha gante wa sebetsa? And then why a sa thlokomele bana ba hae because wa sebetsa. Nna se ke fihlile ka bulela because ga a mpotsa gore kere ga a sebetse. So nna ke filha kea ba bolela. So ka pelo sebatla bolela gore motho wa sebetsa, nna ke mosapotela bana and gaa romele niks, then bad treatment e qala mo. Se go le monate ko Gauteng, o lebetse gore o seele bana. Se bathoma ba treat bana bad because mme motswadi sa lebetse gore o neglect bana ba hae.*

PARTICIPANT 4 (D1): *Abanye iba affecter ngokuthi abasabuyi totally. Umuntu uvele akhohlwe nge family yakhe. Angasezi, angasathumeli imali, angasa fowuni. Naleyo iyayi affecter l family kakhulu, nabantwana futhi iyaba affecter.*

PARTICIPANT 2 (D1): *Or maybe uthole gore e le taba ya eng; wa nyaka go ya ko gae a yo bona bana ba hae mara o kereye gore chelete. Gona maemo mo yena ore a ka namela ayo bona bana ba hae and ha a kgutla futhi o nyaka ditjo ka mo ntlong. As long as a tseba gore bana ba hae ba safe and o phela a contact le bona a utlwa gore baphela joang. And then bophelo bo tswela pele, nna ha ke bone e le problem.*

PARTICIPANT 7 (D1): *Ya ga a romele selo akere, ga a sebetse. Phela I don't think lerato ke chelete, as long as bana baka ke ba rata. Ha ntse ba gola, batlo understand gore mme wa rona ontse a sa re etsetse 1,2,3 because o ne a sa kgone not because o ne a sa re batle. Wa understand? Mara ga o na le ona o sabaetsetse; go na le difference between motho o sa batleng le o sakgoneng. Ba kanne basa understand ha basa le banyane mara ha ntse ba gola, batlo understand gore mme wa rona ha relatlha because o ne a re rata. O ne a sa kgone because o ne a sa sebetse, mara lerato lona leteng. Phela go rata ngoana wa gago is all about gu dula le yena wamo tlhalosetsa gore it's like this. But nna ke nahana gore motho olatlheleng ngoana ke o le hore wasebetsa o dutse kwa, ha a thotse boyfriend bophelo botswela kopele. Hatle go tlo rebona; ga fowuni; othotse o etse tu. Just gore bona ka matlho fela, a hug is something e le gore mme wa hao; ga tlhagela mole a o thabela a o dumedisa; o feeler ntho a gore my mom is still there.*

PARTICIPANT 7 (D1): *Ya as much as ga ba ea mo ba ea teng ba batla mosebetsi; ba e la gore ba kereye chelete, mara ntho e le important ke go rata le go ba available for ngoana wa hao. I think the most valuable thing is love, e le gore every kid is looking for. Because obviously ha ke thoma fela kela, ntho e ke tlo e batla ke gore mama waka. And le ha ntholisa; a samfa niks, ang comforter fela, a re go tlo loka, the keba right. Mara nahana kela go se na anybody a reng sorry; for 15 years no one is saying sorry; no one is feeling pity for me. Ha a le teng even if ha na chelete ha ba mpethale ko strateng; ang hugger, a re askies ngoana waka, ke tloba right. Le ha samphe le sweet, ang hugger fela a re sorry ill be fine. Ke ba lentho ya hore le nna go nna le motho o nratang. Le ngoana a fetlha strateng o tlore mamaka o etse sorry; o tla fetlha strateng a botsa banna babang gore, mama waka o ele a mbhandisha; but if its not there it means a gona motho who loves me.*

PARTICIPANT 10 (D1): *Ya, like nna, ke nale bana bae 2. Ka Easter ke a gae ke bafe lerato le bale nyakang. Everyday before ke robala ke bulela le bona ke ba butse gore ke sazula, ha ke so kereye mosebetsi. That is how ke bafa lerato. Wa understander.*

PARTICIPANT 10 (D1): *Le ge o kare ga ofetsa go bua le ena ware kea go rata ngona waka; ngoana wa kgotsofala.*

PARTICIPANT 3 (D2): *But sometimes banokuza lana ne nalento yokuthi bazofuna umsebenzi. Uma bafika la kuba nzima umuntu uthola i boyfriend imenzela yonke into agcine akhohlwa ngabantwana; sekaya phuza wenza yonke into. Noma sekathola umsebenzi uzikhohliwe manje ukuthi unabantwana back ekhaya. Sekumele kuthunyelwe amakhumbula ekhaya manje*

azobathatha. I think wonke usuka analento yokuthi ngiyo sebenza, ngiyosebenzela abantwana bami but as you know ukuthi izinto ziyashintsha; uma ufika endaweni, ufika u experience izinto ezintsha. Sowufika e Joburg ubona i flat, akaze wayibona ujwayele ama round house. Makafika lana ubona i flat nama Naija, then gone nama Naija, so mara yona i main purpose kusuke kuwukuthi uyosebenzela abantwana, angeke usuke nje ekhaya uthi ngiyaya nje ngiyo jayiva cause awazi ukuthi kuzofike kube njani la uya khona.

PARTICIPANT 3 (D2): *Mina ngithi big up kulabo mama laba abasuka emakhaya bangazi niks beze la e Goli ngalengqondo yokuthi ngizozamela abantwana bami. Uma bafika la eGoli ashaywe wumhlaba, umvithize, a end up ayi prostitute mara ngemali yobu prostitute asapote abantwana bakhe athi usebenza e ofisini e reception. U presser i computer mara uyi prostitute. Ngithi big up kulabo mama labo. Because basuka emakhaya nalento yokuthi ngiyosebenzela abantwana bami so makafika lana wamshaya umhlaba wamvithiza, a end up a prostitutur, but lento yokuthi bekezele ini la e Goli akayikhohlwanga. Ihleli lakuye ukuthi ngathi ngiyosebenzela abantwana bami. Noma ngiya prostitutur it's fine mara ngasuka ekhaya ngithi ngizosebenzela abantwana bami. So ngiyabanikeza le mali ye prostitution, angeke uze usho emntwaneni wakho ukuthi ngiya prostitutur. Uzothi ngisebenza e ofisini ngiyi receptionist or ngiyi bookkeeper mara angazi niks nge bookkeeping. By that time uyathumela ekhaya uma uthi ufika kibo, ufika kuna everything. Indlu yakibo imile, abantwana bakhe uyababona.*

PARTICIPANT 3 (D2): *Ya asisho ukuthi bayenze loko, like afike vele azitshelile ukuthi mina ngiyoyenze ini ini. Uya understander, as long as uzamile wahluleka. Mele azame bese uyahluleka khani azoya lapha ku B.*

The above statements point to the complexities and multi-layered dimensions of being a woman migrant labourer. The women problematised the narrative of bad versus good mothers by showing the various ways in which women engage with their families (or not) while they are away from home for extended periods of time. A mother who often visits the children in addition to caring for them financially may be seen as a good mother compared to one who does not visit her children regularly. However, the women perceived motherhood not only based on the ability to provide financially, but rather based on how often mothers visit their children.

Some further argued that, when a mother leaves her children to go and work for them, provides financially and is able to explain that she is working for the well-being of the family, children do understand. Good mothers are validated by others when they show acts of love and caring for their children whom they have left behind. The concept of motherhood is judged according to how mothers relate to their children and, in cases where mothers are not proximally close to their children due to work, mothers are judged as bad mothers when they do not return to their children. However, these mothers who leave their children are generally seen as acting out of love, while there are those who abandon their children permanently and do not return home.

As alluded to earlier, different views were expressed in both focus groups that were conducted on how Madelakufa community women viewed mothers who migrate for work, leaving children behind. The one view was opposed to migration and cautioned that, when women leave the rural homes for work, they turn to creating another life for

themselves in the cities, abandoning or forgetting their children at home. The participants in both groups mentioned that they had witnessed this from some of the people they lived with in these communities. The other view that was highlighted supported migrant labour as an option for women. While the participants acknowledged that “abandonment” may happen as a result of women being absent for extended periods of time, they were also quick to note that the absence is out of need to support and cater for the needs of their children.

As extensively discussed in the literature review in the preceding chapters, the issue of leaving children behind and women migrant labourers is a complex one. The above perceptions are in line with findings by other scholars who have engaged the topic of migrant labourers. De Haas (2012) expresses his disapproval of migration, stating that it destroys stable families and destabilises their financial state, weakening the population as result. He goes on to argue that this will in turn give rise to more migration. On the other hand, Cenci (2015) supports migration, highlighting that it can enhance the social and economic status of migrants. Delgado-Wise (2014) also emphasises that migration has positive attributes and can contribute towards the improvement of people’s lives. However, Chang et al. (2011) emphasise the diverse conclusions on the impact of migration on the well-being of those left behind. Drawing from a feminist theoretical perspective, Davis (2008) highlights how community norms and expectations placed on women play a critical role in how society responds to women who choose to leave their children behind in search for economic independence.

4.3 Complexities of leaving children behind

As discussed in the previous chapters, the notion of a child being left behind as an action being perceived as neglect remains contested because, when women leave their children behind to go look for ways in which to make their lives better, it is not necessarily neglect. In supporting the need for women's economic independence and betterment of their lives, Anderson (2012) argues that there is a need to ease disparities of power, where women's need for emancipation is deemed as neglect. Instead there needs to be a creation of social equality and assistance in addressing experiences of women (Anderson, 2012). Often, women make this difficult decision in the quest and hope for a better life for their families, particularly their children. As was highlighted in the focus groups:

PARTICIPANT 1 (D2): *I understand ukuthi kusuke kuyi situation. Indaba okokuqala uma uwu mama kwamele u providele abantwana bakho. And emakhaya umsebenzi u scarce, so i situation iyabaphoqa ukuthi basuke from ama rural areas beze kuma urban towns or areas ukuthi bazofuna umsebenzi, bazokwazi ukusapota abantwana babo emuva.*

PARTICIPANT 5 (D1): *Ea and gae dire niks go bane ngoana oa crèche, re ntsa R300 ko crèche and then gape o omong o tsena sekolo and go nyakega di lunch box. So gonna boimanyana go nna le bana ko ntlong, ga waba sea ko gae o nna le bona mo.*

PARTICIPANT 4 (D1): *Naye uyasho ukuthi vele u feeler kabuhlungu because yisimo ayikho into azoyenza. Ngoba uzosuka nabantwana eze nabo la*

angasebenzi kuzoba nzima njengoba asho usisi ukuthi kuba nzima ukuhlala nabantwana ungasebenzi. Kuncono uma ubashiye le emakhaya ngoba le emakhaya at least bakhona abo gogo bazoba bheka bese uma uthola umsebenzi uzokwazi ukuthumela imali. Kuba nzima kona and kubuhlungu kodwa abana choice.

PARTICIPANT 6 (D1): *Abanye ababashiya aba bantwana ngoba bethanda ukubashiya, babashiya ngenxa ye situation.*

PARTICIPANT 6(D1): *Bakhona abangathi babahlale kodwa abanye umntu uyaye athethe ne neighbor yakhe that uyabashiya abantwana ucela aze ajonge. Kukhona omnye usisi this December uhlala lapha around Joburg naye wayeze azofuna umsebenzi. Bekahlala nabantwana bakhe, andazi kwenzeke ntoni, uphinde wabashiya emakhaya. Ubashiye ku neighbor yakhe, wabacelela ukuba bahlale khona apho ajongelwe bona, uphelelwe ngu msebenzi and then uzophinda afune umsebenzi aphinde abalande futhi. Ubayalezile kuma neighbor wakhe.*

PARTICIPANT 4(D1): *Usuke vele azitshela ukuthi umama wami akekho, azitshela vele ukuthi lomuntu lona wuye ongigadile ozoba wumama wami noma ubaba wami. Kanjalo nje, ngoba wuye umuntu omakekelayo angithi. Wazi ukuthi uzodla, uzomwashela, aye esikolweni. Umama wakhona noma ngabe akayithumeli imali kuya ngokuthi umntwana umphatha kanjani, I care, uyamnakekela. Uyabona ukuthi lomuntu uyanginakekela. Uzothi mama kuwe akujwayele cause wuwe omnakekelayo.*

PARTICIPANT 8(D1): *Ea ke nne ke bulela le ena ka fowunu. Ampotse gore mama a bantshware pela, and chelete o nrometse ona le sayiting ba nhlutha ona. Ke ge ke decider gore go bonolo gore ke monke ke dule le yena. Joale ke dula le bona kaufela and ga ke sebetse. Ntate o ke ne ke dula le ena o ele a tlhokofala and o ne a supporter sharp. O ke dula le ena now ga bereki wa zama zama. Ke phela ka ona chelete ya grant. Gare goa kgwedi ea fela, ke zame mo ke zamang mara as lond ke dutshe le bona pelo aka ea gotsofala.*

PARTICIPANT 7 (D1): *Re ka sere o balatlhele a gopola gore bateng. Go ra gore everytime ga dutse mo adutseng o fela a gopola gore ke na lebana ko plekeng e etseng. Ga tswane le o le gore totally o dutse Madelakufa for good.*

PARTICIPANT 2(D1): *Or maybe uthole gore e le taba ya eng; wa nyaka goa ko gae a yo bona bana ba hae mara o kereye gore chelete. Gona bo ema mo yena ore a ka namela ao bona bana ba hae and agotlhe futhi o nyaka ditjo ka mo ntlong. As long as a tseba gore bana ba hae ba safe and o phela a contact le bona a utlwa gore baphela joang. And then bophelo bo tswela pele, nna ha ke bone e le problem.*

PARTICIPANT 6(D1): *Umntwana uma engaseva ne voice yakho akabikho right. And then wena if umfowunela uba sharp. Not that kukhona into ebuhlangu kuye but xa eva leyo voice uba right.*

PARTICIPANT 6(D1): *Even if umntwana seke mncane noma ngabe use Joburg noma e Eastern Cape; kufanele u fowune u explaine kuye ukuthi mntanami ndizawubuya ndisafuna umsebenzi. Uzakuthi noba uyabuzwa ngumntu ukuthi*

uphi umamakho; akazova kabuhlungu; uzawuthi umamami uyofuna umsebenzi okanye umamami uyafunda okanye uthe.

PARTICIPANT 6 (D1): *Noma amncane utsho la kuye ukuthi ufuna umsebenzi noma sowufumene utsho, umbuze ukuthi ndikuthengele ntoni. Buza yena, uzoba right.*

PARTICIPANT 6 (D2): *And uma ungathatha ukubheka, u Thandiwe lo wakho uyafunda ne, sekase sikolweni and you realise ngo July ukuthi I really need to go to Joburg and find work, umzokhipa esikolweni because you don't wanna neglect your babies? Angeke umkhiphe esikolweni, and ufuna izicathulo zesikolo.*

PARTICIPANT 3 (D2): *Uyayibona lento ebuzwayo ne, meantime ngise Cape Town ngishiye abo Thandiwe la, ngike ngabuza enye intombazana, u Christine umngani wami ukhona la bekahamba nomntwana wakhe everywhere and she was like awu feel ukuthi abantwana bakho uba neglectile wena ula e Cape Town ushiye abantwana bakho e Joburg awubaboni for the whole year? Then mina into engamphendula ngayo wukuthi mina ngi feeler as if manje kula ngibapha khona uthando; angikho eduze kwabo but manje it's the more ngibapha uthando because every month ngi maker sure ukuthi i R2000 iyangena for bona. Bathenga izimpahla a everything; uma ngiseduze kwabo bayangitshela ukuthi sisi ngilambile but nothing to give them. Sisi angina sicathulo and nai ngiyambona umtwana wami ukuthi akanasicathulo. Ngise duze kwakhe, ngimnikeza uthando ngenhliziyo mara kunzima ukuthi ngimu providele because anginamali; angisebenzi. So right uma ngise Cape Town, angikho eduze kwakhe ukuthi ngimnikeze lolo thando lolo but ngiyakhuluma naye efowunini*

ukuthi mntanami ngiyaku thanda and naye uyabona ukuthi ngiyamthanda because uyazi every month umama wami uzothumela, every month bayaphuma bayodla e Spur; umama wami uthumele imali. Uyazi lemali ayodla ngayo e Spur wumama wami oyithumele.

PARTICIPANT 3 (D1): *Iyenzeka leyonto leyo but mina umama wami wumuntu o fair. Mina umama wami uhlala no mtwana wakho phansi, amtshele ukuthi wena Thandiwe uyabona lemali le efikile manje, u Pat uyifakile imali, futhi umama wai uze amtshele ne amount oyifakile. Ufake i R2000 uyifakele nina; angeke aze abuye ngoba akatholanga i chance uyasebenza; use msebenzini, bakhuluma nami efowunini. Futhi nabo uma ngikhuluma nabo efowunini, angikaze ngayi feeler lento yokuthi Sisi like usiyekelele or something uya understander; cos umama wami ubabeka phansi aba explainele ukuthi bantwana bami umama wenu uhambe so it's because uyokwenzela nina yonke lento ayoyenze; akusiko ukuthi ufuna ukuyodla i joy. Nifunda e private school ngenxa ka Pat. Nidla e Steers ngenxa ka Pat, uphumile la ekhaya wayonisebenzela; akadli i joy la akhona, usebenzela nina. Uya understander, so omunye umuntu bekayithatha ngokuthi angibaniki uthando because ngihambile mina ngayo nikeza indoda uthando e Cape Town. Fine indoda bengiyinikeza uthando vele ngoba ngiyitholile and beyise duze kwami but leyo ndoda benginayo bengingayinikezi leyo R2000 engiyinikeza abantwana bami. Uya understander but kona vele komunye umuntu kuzoba ngathi ngiyaba neglecter; the whole year uhambile ushiye abantwana; abanye abantwana bahleli nomama wabo but abantwana uma uba understandisa ukuthi uhambe ngenxa yento eso naso, ukuhlala nabo la ekhaya angeke kuze kubadlise*

esiswini. Kumanje uma banganena manje bathi sis Pat sicela i R5 anginayo manje.

The excerpts above point to the complicated nature of children left behind by their mothers. The women highlighted the sacrifices that often have to be made by mothers in their quest to support their children. They mentioned the role of other people who have to care for the children in the absence of their mothers. When women migrant labourers leave children behind, there are often agreements and communication with those who will care for the children, and there is some level of understanding – even more so when they send money back home. This money becomes a voice for their children, and in some instances, money translates to love. This is in line with existing literature where scholars (Deshingkar 2014; Gates, 2014; Lu, 2012; Lopez- Ekra et al., 2011; Ratha, 2013) argue that migrant labourers remit and the remittance assist in making the lives of the children left behind better. It therefore becomes pertinent to be cautious before using the abandonment label for children left behind when referring to women migrant labourers, as their stories are often more complicated than meets the eye.

4.3.1 Leaving children behind as an act of love

It is often not easy for women to leave children behind – it is a sacrifice they make and for many this is an act of love. It is for their children's safety, because they know that by leaving their children behind, the children will be taken care of by family members or loved ones, as opposed to being taken to an unknown environment where suffering could be doubled because the women will not only have to worry about their own well-being but also about the children. Therefore, the issue of the act of love should be understood more broadly.

Some women migrate because of limited options where they stay and because they want to provide for their children with the hope that there are better opportunities *out there*. This is seen as an act of love by some, while other women view this as neglect. Women argue that they cannot stay at home with their children and watch them suffer or go hungry and claim to love them, so they view migration as a sacrifice and an act of love.

PARTICIPANT 4 (D1): *Lomuntu lo uphoqwa yisimo; naye uyafuna ukuba ne family yakhe. Mara kumele ayosebenza, kusho ukuthi usene care nge family yakhe. Ngoba uyakhona ukuthi aphinde abuye futhi. Akabalahlanga.*

PARTICIPANT 2 (D2): *And futhi bathi beza bazofuna umsebenzi la basuke nabantwana babo while nendawo abakayitholi uyabo. So kumele beze bazo checker i situation ukuthi bazokhona ukuthola umsebenzi, basebenza and then bayabamikisela. Angeke nje bavele basuke bayincwaba bonke bezele la while bangazi ukuthi kwenzakalani.*

4.3.2 Women are forced by circumstances to leave their children

The Madelakufa community women who participated in the study perceived women who migrate in search for employment as having no choice but to leave their children in order to provide for them. Women do not leave their children out of choice – they are forced by circumstances, and their act of leaving children behind is not necessarily considered as neglect. Mothers are forced to leave their children due to their situations at home, especially in the absence of a man in the house. The lack of income from a partner or the lack of financial support by the partner forces women to move in the search for employment. This point is in line with Gündüz's (2013) assertion that women

are pushed by economic stresses like poverty to migrate. The participants could relate to the challenges that women face in making the decision to leave their children in search of better opportunities. Women are motivated by poverty and the need to provide for and support their families back at home.

PARTICIPANT 1(D1): *ka gore ha bana bontate baba thusang go bereka; go ba thusa go sapota.*

PARTICIPANT 1(D1): *ke ele ka thlakana lebona bare batlele mo hobane ba sokola. Ba tlo nyaka mmereko. So bae 3 mara now badula mo diplekeng ba berekela mo tsona.*

PARTICIPANT 2(D1): *Ya re thlakana le bona babang cos life is difficult without an income mo di family, so they decided to relocate to another place batlo sebetsa ba gone go maintainer bana.*

PARTICIPANT 3(D1): *Oh e ke tlele ka mo meeter before ntate sale a mosia so atla Gauteng a tlo batla mmereko gore a gone go sapota bana. Ntate e sale a ea ga asatla gae, gas a romela chelete, so mme a decider gore atle mo Gauteng a tlo gona go bereka a gone go e maintainer bana ba hae.*

PARTICIPANT 4 (D1): *Ya mina ukhona engimaziyo kodwa uhlala nendoda yakhe la, bashiye abantwana ekhaya. Ngama holidays bayahamba baye emakhaya or bathumele imali le emakhaya ngoba le emakhaya akufani nala. La e Goli kunama opportunity amaningi omsebenzi, le emakhaya ku poor, so manje yiko bashiye abantwana beza la bazo sebenza.*

PARTICIPANT 5(D1): *Nna ke na le bana bae 2, ke dula lebona mo le papa wa bona. Mara ba bothle a re bereki, so go nna boema, le ena papa wa teng o phela ka di piece job. Chelete e re e berekisa ka mo ntlong ke chelete ya grant ya bana and then ngoana o mong o kena crèche o mong o kena sekolo and otshwanetse o mo patale crèche. Ga e le gore ngoana oa sekolong go nyakega di lunch box. Dintho tse tshwangang le tseo. Go nabo ema like ge o sa bereki o dula le bana mo ntlong go bo e ma.*

PARTICIPANT 5(D1): *Ea and ga e dire niks go bane ngoana oa crèche, re ntsa R300 ko crèche and then gape o omong o tsena sekolo and go nyakega di lunch box. So gonna boimanyana go nna le bana ko ntlong, ga waba sea ko gae o nna le bona mo.*

PARTICIPANT 4(D1): *Naye uyasho ukuthi vele u feeler kabuhlungu because yisimo ayikho into azoyenza. Ngoba uzosuka nabantwana eze nabo la angasebenzi kuzoba nzima njengoba asho usisi ukuthi kuba nzima ukuhlala nabantwana ungasebenzi. Kuncono uma ubashiye le emakhaya ngoba le emakhaya at least bakhona abo gogo bazoba bheka bese uma uthola umsebenzi uzokwazi ukuthumela imali. Kuba nzima kona and kubuhlungu kodwa abana choice.*

PARTICIPANT 6 (D1): *Some bayeza ngapha besiza ku friend okanye ku relative engena ndawo yokuhlala, afike ahlale ku relative apho angazu kwazi khona ukuza nabantwana bakhe. Then after ke xa esefumene izinto ezinje ngomsebenzi azifumanele indawo yokuhlala. Abanye ke bakwazi ukuthatha abantwana babo emakhaya babazise apha.*

PARTICIPANT 6(D1): *Abanye ababashiya aba bantwana ngoba bethanda ukubashiya, babashiya ngenxa ye situation.*

PARTICIPANT 8(D1): *Ea ke nne ke bulela le ena ka fowunu. Ampotse gore mama a bantshware pela, and chelete o nrometse ona le sayiting ba nhlutha ona. Ke g eke decider gore go bonolo gore ke monke ke dule le yena. Joale ke dula le bona kaufela and ga ke sebetse. Ntate o ke ne ke dula le ena o ele a thlokofala and o ne a supporter sharp. O ke dula le ena now ga bereki wa zama zama. Ke phela ka ona chelete ya grant. Gare goa kgwedi ea fela, ke zame mo ke zamang mara as long ke dutshe le bona pelo yaka ea gotsofala.*

PARTICIPANT 3 (D1): *Oh e ke tlele ka mo meeter before ntate sale a mosia so atla Gauteng a tlo batla mmereko gore a gone go sapota bana. Ntate e sale a ea ga asatla gae, gas a romela chelete, so mme a decider gore atle mo Gauteng a tlo gona go bereka a gone go e maintainer bana ba hae.*

PARTICIPANT 1 (D2): *I understand ukuthi kusuke kuyi situation. Indaba okokuqala uma uwu mama kwamele u providele abantwana bakho. And emakhaya umsebenzi u scarce, so i situation iyabaphoqa ukuthi basuke from ama rural areas beze kuma urban towns or areas ukuthi bazofuna umsebenzi, bazokwazi ukusapota abantwana babo emuva.*

The above statements point to poverty being a great contributor to women leaving homes in search for work. Women migrant labour was triggered in many ways by the men that migrated. With many never going back home, women had to make the decision to migrate and leave their children behind. This point is also seen in literature. Posel (2004) argues that, as a result of many men leaving their homes and not coming

back home, many women were ‘forced’ to go out and seek employment. The decision to migrate does not start with the mother who intentionally wants to leave her children behind, but as an act of survival, seeking provision for her children.

PARTICIPANT 2(D2): *And futhi bathi beza bazofuna umsebenzi la basuke nabantwana babo while nendawo abakayitholi uyabo. So kumele beze bazo checker i situation ukuthi bazokhona ukuthola umsebenzi, basebenza and then bayabamikisela. Angeke nje bavele basuke bayincwaba bonke bezele la while bangazi ukuthi kwenzakalani.*

4.4 Uzosokola namaQualifications

Sometimes even with qualifications people still struggle. The assumption is that those who struggle are the ones who are not educated or do not have qualifications. However, this study highlights that people go through challenges even with educational qualifications in hand. This contributes towards people migrating from one place to another in search of a better life and opportunities. Having qualifications is not a guarantee that one will get a job. This adds to the frustrations felt by many, because there is always that hope that, with education, one will end up with better opportunities. When that does not happen, it increases the level of frustration in people, as can be seen by the reflections from the focus groups below:

PARTICIPANT 1 (D2): *Uyabona leyo ndaba leyo yama qualifications uzosokola nawo. Uyazi there is this thing ethi lama qualifications wakho azoba ne bathi yini; gross or ifani aloku ahleli lapha e trunkini lawo ma qualifications wakho. And most of the time thina banti abangabo mama like si facer leyo problem leyo yokuthi uma kumele ungene angithi abantu abaphethe ngamadoda; and uyazi*

ukuthi men usually bathatha i disadvantage against us. Umuntu uzokutshela ukuthi ukuze ungene; even though you have ama qualifications kwamele ulale nami. Sinama morals sinama values mara uma sikhuluma nabantu abasuka emakhaya, bazokutshela ukuthini; angeke ulale nomuntu okungasi yindoda yakho. Uthini; hhayi mina ama values wami awavumi ukuthi ngilale nawe. Uphinde uphume ufike nakwenye indawo uthole enye indoda ene corruption ugcina uphethe. Uyangithola ukuthi ngithini, ayi few ama companies or ama organization ozothi uma ufika umuntu ophethe or umuntu oqashayo kube wu mama. Uyangithola; uma ufika, leyo ndoda leyo izokutshela ukuthini; iyakubona umuhle, usuka emakhaya uzofuna ukukuwela i stuff, uzofuna ukukufaka e Jozi. Uzothi lala name.

PARTICIPANT 3 (D2): *Makunga madoda kwamele silale nawo. Makuwu muntu owumama uqasha i family yakhe.*

PARTICIPANT 2 (D2): *Ama cv uzowafaka uku prover nje kulaba abakhulu kubo ne. Like maybe abantu ababaphethe, like mabaqeda lapho i cv bayayithatha bayifaka emgqomeni. Bakhohliwe ngani ne, and futhi kunenye into engifuna ukunitshela ngama qualifications ne; ama qualification angeke ungene emsebenzini uvele nje nama qualification wakho wonke uthi wena uyenza ini, i honours, ufike nawo. Akekho umuntu ozofuna ukukubhadala. Mawungema e company ungena little bit by little bit. Bazothi uma ba busy ba advertiser wena ulapho ngaphakathi; khani uzoveza ama qualifications wakho. If uzoloku uqhamuka ngama qualifications wakho bese uyongena emsebenzini; akekho umuntu ozokuqasha. Uzovele nje nenqwaba engaka yemali athi nje i first pay*

yakho nayi R100 000; akekho. Kumele uma usangena ungene nge certificate yakho ye matric. Uma ba busy ba promoter laphaya nawe uzongena kanjalo.

The participants mentioned people's difficulties in securing employment when they get to urban areas, even when they possess academic qualifications. They pointed to the ways in which some men are gatekeepers in most places of work, and demand sexual favours in exchange for jobs. The first time, the woman will refuse and not get the job because she has morals she needs to uphold, but as the situation becomes more distressed, she is forced to yield to temptation by further sacrificing her morals.

On the other hand, when women are gatekeepers in power, they practise nepotism. At times, women migrate with good qualifications, but because of them not being related to the gatekeeper or refusing to give sexual favours, they do not get the jobs. They end up having to lower or hide their qualifications just so that they can get their foot into the job market. Then later they can progress and produce the higher qualifications when promotion or better work opportunities are advertised.

Gender inequality continues to be a challenge in various spheres of South African society. The participants' reflections highlight the gendered challenges faced by women within the workplace or when attempting to secure employment. Even with qualifications in hand, there is never a guarantee that a woman will receive fair treatment based on her skills or relevant education. The numerous examples offered by the women above point to the perpetual oppression that women continue to face in society. The cancer of corruption affects women's access to spaces that they were denied in the past. Having to 'give their bodies' in return for employment shows the disregard that the patriarchal system has for the value and contribution that women can make in society.

4.5 Challenges faced by children

Children of women migrant labourers often face multiple challenges. As stated in Chapter 2, (Chang et al., 2011; Dreby, 2012; Givaudan & Pick, 2013; Velazquez et al., 2006), some feel neglected, unloved and do not understand why their mothers left them. Other challenges involve the caretaker falling sick or even dying (this may be as a result of caretakers being grandparents who may be suffering from ill health linked to old age). Furthermore, children may suffer abuse in the hands of their caretakers as a result of their mothers not sending money for their upkeep, lack of communication from the mother, or the mother simply disappearing and not coming home for long periods of time. The aforementioned issues may in certain instances lead to children being chased away and having to fend for themselves. Siblings may be forced to look after one another, leading to what is now commonly known as child-headed families.

When children are left to be cared for by neighbours, they face challenges when adapting to the new caregivers. As discussed by Participant 6 below, children that may have been spoiled by their parents may have difficulties adapting to the new and different life.

PARTICIPANT 6 (D1): *But akululanga, akusiyo into elula. Umntana akakhuliswa ngendlela efanayo. Omnye umntu akazuhlala naye kakuhle the way umama ebehlala naye and that was fun. Maybe wena bewumtatamisa umntana and then now awusakhoni sekufanele ufune umsebenzi and then uyomgcinisa kumakhelwane wakho and then kumakhelwane uyafika kamakhelwane uyahlala and then izinto ebezijwayele ukuzenza kokwabo; ebe spoilwa ngakhona akasazokwazi ukuzithola kama khelwane and that's when kengoku kuba khona ingxaki.*

PARTICIPANT 6 (D1): *Ya yena akazu understander ukuba sekufuneka etshintshile kuba akasahlali nomama wakhe usehlala nomnye umama. Then it would be difficult for lomntu omgcinile ukuthi enze eza zinto bezenziwa ngu mama wakhe. Which is akazuzenza zonke, uzozenza ezinye izinto mara not zonke.*

When women send money back home, the people left to care for the children may not use the money efficiently to care for the child. Moreover, in families where other grandchildren are also living with the grandparents in the same household, children may be ill-treated based on the money the mothers send back home or how often they visit.

PARTICIPANT 8(D1): *Joale ka nna ke ele ka siya first born yaka ga ke qala ke tla mo Gauteng. So ka thola di result tse se monate ko hae mara ke nne ke e romela chelete. Ke moromela le ya hae on the side, mara ga ba mobona a tshwere chelete ba mohlithola ona and ba morekela diphahlo PEP store and ke ne ke sa rate joalo.*

PARTICIPANT 8(D1): *Ke ne ke mo siile le mama waka. And ne ba na le go sa mo thsware hantle, bare o ja gagolo. Dintho tse jwalo je, a gcina asanglela. Ka romela chelete kare bamo nametse atle mo ho nna.*

PARTICIPANT 8(D1): *Ea ke ne ke bolela le ena ka founu. A mpotse gore mama ha ba ntshware pela, and chelete o nrometse yona lesayiting ba nhlutha yona. Ke ge ke decider gore go bonolo gore ke monke ke dule le yena. Joale ke dula le bona kaufela and ga ke sebetse.*

PARTICIPANT 9(D1): *Ya le nna ntho e mama ntho a e bolelang e sale a nthlagela. Ke ele ka tlogela first born ea ka e dula ko gae, nna ke dula le o monyane kamo. So ntho e ne e dirahala hodimo goa gae; ena o ne a phela sharp a nna le mamaka. Mara nthoe ea go makatsa ke gore ko sekolong o ne a sa perform sharp. O thole gore class wae repeater ga e 2. Ka decider gore ke monke atlo dula le nna mo, and since atla mo ke bona go ba better. It means go na lentho e ne e motswenya mo thlaloganyong ya hae, gore mama o nthlogetse. And a ka motlogela, ke nne ke tlele ka mo Joburg gore ke tlo nyaka mmereko, ke gona go mothusa mo le mo.*

PARTICIPANT 7(D1): *Ba bang totally, they don't. Motho wa lebala le gore ke na le bana. Le motho a setseng le bana ugcina a sa gathala, motho o sale aya, gasa fowuna; ga satla; ga saetsa niks. And le bad treatment, sometimes e thoma ke gore obviously people are saying ke dula gaufe le Maria, ke a mo bona. Ga ke fethla gae ba botsesa gore o sale wa gcina Maria neng, ke a babotsa gore ke mogcine maubane ga re tshaesa. Ha gante wa sebetsa? And then why a sa thlokomele bana ba hae because wa sebetsa. Nna se ke fethlele ka bulela because ga a mpotsa gore kere ga a sebetse. So nna ke fetlha kea ba bolela. So ka pelo sebatlha bolela gore motho wa sebetsa, nna ke mosapotela bana and ga romele niks, then bad treatmet e qala mo. Se go le monate ko Gauteng, o lebetse gore o seele bana. Se bathoma ba treat bana bad because mme motswadi sa lebetse gore o neglect bana ba hae.*

PARTICIPANT 7(D1): *Ba ba ill treater. Even if e kaba nkgono, unless a na le ngwana oyi 1. Ko mama waka ke le 1, ditlhogolo e le bana baka fela akere a gona competition. Mara immediately bana ba mo ntlhong baba more than 1,*

treatment e tlo dula e le bad because ha ngabe le 1, gab a compete le motho ga kere. E ka sebe taba ya gore Modiehi this month o rometse R1000, it means she's better and Maria o rometse R20 go tsho gore bana ba gae abatji. Ha ba le 1, that R100 e ke mofang yona e tlo mo gotsofatsa because ke e ke na leng yona. Problem e qala if le le more than 1, especially mo di family houses.

PARTICIPANT 9(D1): *ba tswarana snaks, o mong o tlare a se heno mo, o mong are e bele mama hao hatlhe. Ke ditjo tsa chelete ya mama waka tse e seng wa hao.*

PARTICIPANT 6(D1): *Yonke into e bad eyanzakalayo, they put i blame kulo mntana umama wakhe ongekho.*

PARTICIPANT 4(D1): *Noma nenza something kumele yenziwe yilomntwana umama wakhe ongekho. Or noma kungatshontshwa so. Laba abanye bazo relaxer or like ukupheka; uku cleaner bazothi wena yenza. Noma kufika isivakashi bazothi sukuma wenze itiye. Laba abanye baloku ba relaxed. Umama wakho akekho, akukho muntu ozokukhulumela.*

PARTICIPANT 6(D1): *Like nokutya so, kunezinto okumele angazityi. Abanye bayazidla.*

PARTICIPANT 4(D1): *Ya even if bathengelwa izimpahla zizohluka. Omunye ithi ngithi bamthengele izimpahla ezidurayo lo umama ache bamthengele noma kukuphi, like JET noma angathengelwa totally.*

Children are mistreated or taken advantage of by community members who know that the children are left alone. Children may become vulnerable to abuse by community

members or family members and be exposed to various social ills. The excerpts below show how children are impacted when they are left to care for themselves or left in the care of others.

PARTICIPANT 4(D1): *So uma ungahlali nomama wakho noma nabazali bakho awukhoni uku concentrator khahle ku education yakho. Abanye bagcina seba pregnant, abanye bagcine sebahema ngokuthi abazali babo abekho eduze nabo. Akuna guidance*

PARTICIPANT 6(D1): *And omnye agcine angasahlali lapho abeshiywe khona ngumzali wakhe ngenxa yesimo. Abeseke hamba ayohlala lapho azova kamnandi khona. Which is ahambe ayohlala ezichomini, apho bahlala bodwa khona.an And then lapho kulapho azomosheka khona; ngoba ebaleka indlela aphethwe ngayo.*

PARTICIPANT 7(D1): *Ke go sa tshwarehe pila, like di child headed families tse ngata batho banka advantage because o thola e le bana badula bale bang, maybe mme o tla sometimes after long or both parents are not there. Like hae le bana baba nyane batho babo ntate they take advantage. That's why o bona rate ya rape e le high, because parents have gone somewhere ba seele bana bale 1. Obviously motho ga batla gotla a tlo etsa ntho e bad, o tlo tseba gore ke bana ba, they can't do anything.*

PARTICIPANT 2(D1): *Ke tsho gore ngoana ga thswareha ga botlhoko, go se nna motho a reng sorry, o nahana dintho tse snaks, tsa gore e re keo e pulaya or kenwe poison or ke etseng. Or kenue bo dinyaope cos ake thole lerato.*

Mama waka ha nrati; papa waka hao; le di family a di mpatle; go ncono keshoe.

Gore a e nehele ko dinthong tse ba di etsang tse and le tsona di a abuser.

PARTICIPANT 7(D1): *A gona motho o ka tswarang ngoana o seng wa hae ganthle. Yeo yona it's an obvious case.*

Children face challenges at school as a result of their mothers leaving them behind in the care of neighbours or family members. Children who are left in the care of others may not have time to focus on their schoolwork due to the chores assigned to them by their caregivers. The multi-dimensional challenges faced by children who do not live with their mothers (especially those cared for by other community members, e.g. neighbours) are worthy of attention. The challenges of neglect, being unable to focus at school and having to take care of younger siblings were some of the concerns raised by women in the focus groups. These are some of the unintended consequences of women who migrate for work, which in turn contribute towards societal ills that we are confronted with daily. It is critical to note that these issues are not only at micro level but are intertwined with macro-level challenges of unemployment, corruption and gender inequality, to name a few.

PARTICIPANT 6(D1): *Because uzothola ukuthi umntwana ebejwayele ukufunda njengoba ubukhona. Ebefunda, enexesha lakhe lokuthi afunde futhi enze ama homeworks. So, xa usumuse komunye umzi, komunye umzi mhlambe mmmakabuya esikolweni, akazuthola xesha lokuthi afunde and uzosebenza futhi. Uma ebuya anikwe umsebenzi, enze yonke into nje and then angasatholi ichance nexesha lokufunda. So kuqale ke ngoku kube khona ingaxaki, angasa perform right esikolweni.*

PARTICIPANT 6(D1): *Like enze I chores zasendlini. Enze umsebenzi o more than yena, uyabona. A cleane, enziswe izinto nje, anganikwa I chance yokufunda.*

PARTICIPANT 4(D1): *Ya uqinisile, even name bengihlala nomama wami. Bafika bangithatha la bagiyisa e Ivory, bangihlukanisa nomama wami. Uma ngihlala e Ivory bengiwu mntwana ngiyi 1 kumama wami vele. Uma ngibuya endlini bengifunda, ngiwashe izitsha ngenze yonke into ngesikhathi sami. Uma ngifika e Ivory bekumele ngigade abantwana ngapha kumele ngifunde. Ngigade abantwana basekhaya, babashiya, ngapha ngiwashe izitsha, kumele ngipheke, kumele ngiyothenga isishebo; zonke lezo zinto kumele ngizenze. Laba abanye abazenzi; ngapga kumele ngifunde.*

PARTICIPANT 4(D1): *Angitholi chance, kumele ngifunde ngabo 12. Nakhona angisakhoni uku concentrator, abantu balele. Uke wabona nomzimba sowukhathele, umama akekho. So at least noma uhlupheka kuncono uhambe nomama wakho once. Than ukuthi ungahlali nomama, cause ngayibona kimi leyonto leyo. Kimi beku tough kakhulu. Ubusy uyafunda bathi yenza loku, wena usaba ukusebenza u busy uyazifundisa, yeka izincwadi uhambe uyothenga ugesi. Bakhona abahleli, kumele uyeke incwadi ugade abantwana.*

PARTICIPANT 6(D1): *Uyavuka ekuseni uphekela abantwana before uya esikolweni.*

PARTICIPANT 4(D1): *Ngo 5 ngiyavuka, ngishanyela ibala, ngi clean endlini, ngibayenzela itiya. Ngifika esikolweni sengikhathale ngoba sengiphenduke*

ihousewife endlini. Abanye ba relaxed mina angikhoni uku focus ku education yami.

PARTICIPANT 4(D1): *Baka mamncane. Bekakhona naye but bekuyimi osebenza kakhulu ngoba umama wami bekangekho. Uma afikile bazokuphatha njenge qanda, umama noma ungamtshela abone ngathi unamanga ufuna ukuxabanisa. Bazongithanda, bangiphathe kahle. Uma sekahamba futhi uzoqalela phansi usebenze, ungasakhoni oku focus. So uma ungahlali nomama wakho noma nabazali bakho awukhoni uku concentrator khahle ku education yakho. Abanye bagcina seba pregnant, abanye bagcine sebahema ngokuthi abazali babo abekho eduze nabo. Akuna guidance.*

4.6 Gender roles: Childrearing as woman's work

The ideologies of gender roles are embedded in culture and societal norms (Kehler, 2013). Within such systems, childrearing is seen as a woman's responsibility. Mothers are the primary caregivers of their children and, therefore, children relate differently to mothers compared to fathers. Critical feminist theory looks at how social perceptions that are misguided need to be changed to reflect improved social arrangements (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2002). This notion is reflected by the discussions below:

PARTICIPANT 4 (D2): *Nami ngike ngabona uma ngisaqala ukusebenza. Like ngathola umsebenzi vele, uma ngibuyela ngakusasa kwakhona umntwana wami bathi uba dizzy uyagula, ungenye indlela. Ngathi ngizolova, bathi sharp. Ngahamba ngamusa esibhedlela bathi umntwana udle I poison or what. Bathi umntwana akadlanga poison uyadlala u happy, bathi akusiko ukuthi udle I poison*

or something ufuna mina. Wadlala, wadlala, wadlala umntwana wajabula. U Dr wathi yini; ngathi bathi udle I poison, whathi u Dr akadlanga I poison niks ufuna wena, akana niks lomntwana lo u right. Just ufuna uthando lwami. Bese kajwayele ukuhlala nami, so kusho ukuthi ngalelo langa wabona ukuthi akekho umama wami azange abe right.

PARTICIPANT 1 (D2): *And enye yama challenges wukuthi kuba nzima ukuthi baku fowunele ula e Goli bakutshela ukuthi umntwana wakho uyagula. Uma uwu mama at least ube seceleni kwakhe, at least noma umntwana wakho uyagula ne, uma ukhona even if angeke ube nemali yokumuyisa ka Dr but leya feeling yokuthi kumele ube seceleni kwakhe akubone njengo mama, umnikeze uthando because i don't think uwu mama usekudeni nomntwana wakho u feeler as if umnika uthando enough uma usekudeni. So yi challenge leyo nto leyo, nawe iyakudla.*

PARTICIPANT 2 (D2): *And immediately vele uma ubona abo mama badlalisa abantwana babo nawe uyajabula. Uphathwa yi stress sokuthi kazi abami badlaliswa wubani. Yiwo ama challenges lawo.*

PARTICIPANT3(D2): *...So amanye ama challenges abantwana abawatholayo ukuthi if umama wami bekakhona lomuntu bekangeke angenze lento angenza yona. So lomdala u Thandiwe bekasho athi uzobuya u sis Pat uzokubonisa. So beseba feeler leyonto leyo yokuthi asisenayo that protection. Ukuthi if umama wami bekakhona ngabe uyangi protect fro lomuntu lo. And abanye abantwana babashiya nabo baba babo, umama ahambe amshiye no baba then uthole ukuthi umntwana sekayaqala uya menstruator, then akana muntu azomtshele ukuthi mama ngiya menstruator. Yenye i challenge leyo, sekumele manje aqale*

athathe i towel akazi, and emakhaya i pad yinto e scarce yinto engatholakali. Uthatha i towel maybe ubuza kumngani wakhe, uhlala nalelo towel the whole day akashintshi. Maybe uyoze atshelwe ngaba ngani bakhe ukuthi uyanuka hamba uyogeza. Then a feel ukuthi i bekakhona umama wami ngabe uyangitshela ukuthi kuyagezwa after some certain hours.

PARTICIPANT 5 (D2): *And uyazi umntwana uma anenkinga akekho umuntu ongamu advisor njengo mama wakhe. Umama angeke amulahlekise umntwana, angeke athi noma enze into bebamkhuza kuyo bese kwenzeka ama bad results; bese uyacabanga ukuthi bangikhuzile ekhaya, you go back running to your mother. Uyamtshela ukuthi njengoba bowungikhuza so kuphume u A no B and bengingaba expectanga, what do I do. Angeke umama wakho athi ulayekile uzocabanga, uzoza ne plan uzozama ukuku advisor. Ukuthi uphuma kanjani, but sometimes ubaba aloku akuzala uzothi ulayekile kuudala ngikukhuza.*

PARTICIPANT 5 (D2): *Abo baba, hit and run; gone. Abo mama uma ubuyela kuye uzozama ukuthi akukhiphe kulelo hlazo lelo. Umama ubalulekile, manje uma sekashiwya wuwe uwu mama.*

PARTICIPANT 7 (D1): *Ya as much as ga ba ea mo ba ea teng ba batla mosebetsi; ba e la gore ba kereye chelete, mara ntho e le important ke go rata le go ba available for ngoana wa hao. I think the most valuable thing is love, e le gore every kid is looking for. Because obviously ha ke thoma fela kela, ntho e ke tlo e batla ke gore mama waka. And le ha ntholisa; a samfa niks, ang comforter fela, a re go tlo loka, the keba right. Mara nahana kela go se na anybody a reng sorry; for 15 years no one is saying sorry; no one is feeling pity*

for me. Ha a le teng even if ha na chelete ha ba mpethele ko strateng; ang hugger, a re askies ngoana waka, ke tloba right. Le ha samphe le sweet, ang hugger fela a re sorry ill be fine. Ke ba lentho ya hore le nna go nna le motho o nratang. Le ngoana a fetlha strateng o tlore mamaka o etse sorry; o tla fetlha strateng a botsa banna babang gore, mama waka o ele a mbhandisha; but if its not there it means a gona motho who loves me.

PARTICIPANT 3 (D2): *Kufana nokuthi indoda ishone kuzothiwa umfazi umbulele; umdlisile. Kodwa kwashona umfazi angeke bathi indoda imbulele. So iyafana lento le, umfazi uma eza la azosebenza thina bafazi yithi esiphinde siziqindezele. Sikhuluma kakhulu; kunokuthi sithi hamba mfowethu indoda vele siyayibona iyakumosha siba nalento yokuthi umfazi maka shada kumele ahlale ekhaya akhulise abantwana. And leyonto seyichithekela nakithi. Siyazala mara asiyi ukuyo marketer sigade ubaba womntwana ukuthi ayo marketer. Cos lento le isuka le kubo mama bethu ukuthi umfazi kumele ahlale ekhaya.*

PARTICIPANT 6 (D2): *Umama ungamtshela ukuthi mama I'm HIV positive, umama uhlala nawe phansi athi idla i treatment. Uthole ukuthi umama akekho uma utshela u baba athi manje yenza njani le HIV yakho? Uthi kumele ngidle i treatment. Athi manje uhlale leni ungayidli, sowuzofa. Or uyoyidla nini, ahambe ayoxoxela i girlfriend or etshwaleni. Uma uthi seyigcwele yonke indawo kanti umama uyakhona ukuthi ahlale nwae phansi nibonisane ukuthi nenza kanjani. Uyakhona ukuyifihla, aze asho athi singabatsheli abantu.*

PARTICIPANT 3 (D2): *Vele injalo. Labo makoti laba sebahlalise kakhulu emakhaya sebaze bayafeba. Uyazi uthole umakoti aye e town ngo 6 ekuseni; uyzoe abuye ngo 6 late athi ama transport bewangekho. Uyafeba because*

akuvumelekanga ukuthi eze egoli azosebenza angithi. Sekasebenzisa into anayo ke manje; seka markerter emakhaya. Cos sicindezelwa abanye abafazi. Bacindezelwa abo mamazala nabo skoni ukuthi makoti wena kumele uhlale la. Wenze izinto zala ekhaya yonke into la ibheke wena. Uthole ukuthi njengama Xhosa agcoka ijeremane uthole ukuthi iphelile ijeremane. Indoda iyasebenza e Joburg abafuni nokuthi eze azobona indoda yakhe.

PARTICIPANT 4 (D2): *...kanti back home ukhona umama wakho, sekamdala angisho, uhleli ekhaya, uzobanikeza uthando; uzokwazi ukuba maintainer kahle, ukubagada, abakhulise the way akhulise wena mntwana wakhe ngakhona. Angisho she is a grandparent kula bantwana, uyazi ukuthi uzobanikeza uthando...*

Because of the presumed nurturing nature of a mother, it becomes difficult for women to live in places far away from their children without being negatively judged. Women are seen as people who bring stability by loving their children and saying the right things when children are going through difficulties. Kofman and Raguram (2012) advocate for the terminology 'mother' by explaining it as caregiving and nurturing, as opposed to a biological relationship, which becomes important in helping to raise the children and offering care where it is needed. It is therefore assumed that women should spend their time raising children, something they are assumed to do better than men. Kofman and Raghuram (2012) highlight that the female kin steps in when a mother migrate in order to offer care for the child. When men migrate for labour purposes, it is perceived by the community to be the right thing to do, while the same cannot be said when women migrate (Hofmann & Buckley, 2012).

PARTICIPANT 3 (D2): *Indoda uma ingenanqondo izoza la e Goli isebenze ithumele R200 noma malini. Like i R200 ayinamsebenzi uma nibaningi e family. Angithi uyazi ukuthi emakhaya sikhala sibaningi vele so mina angiboni ukuthi yini umsebenzi wendoda cause uthole ukuthi maybe ukhola R3000 la e Goli unomfazi. Angithi amadoda awakhoni nokuziphatha and unika lo wala e Goli umfazi R2800. And mhlambe lowo mfazi unabantwana abayi 8.*

PARTICIPANT 5 (D2): *umfazi usuke azofuna umsebenzi for real mara kuthiwe uzofuna amadoda. Indoda yona le ezofuna abafazi kuthiwe yiyo ezofuna umsebenzi. Indoda yona isuke izofuna abafazi especially indoda esebenza e mine. Esebenza e mine i worse. Ayikho indoda eza la e Goli ifike ingabi nomakhwapheni.*

PARTICIPANT 2 (D2): *And amadoda uma enza into e wrong ayakhulunyelwa ukuthi hay yindoda. Thina bafazi sahlala si understand.*

PARTICIPANT 3 (D2): *Uyayibona lento ebuzwayo ne, meantime ngise Cape Town ngishiye abo Thandiwe la, ngike ngabuza enye intombazana, u Christine umngani wami ukhona la bekahamba nomntwana wakhe everywhere and she was like awu feel ukuthi abantwana bakho uba neglectile wena ula e Cape Town ushiye abantwana bakho e Joburg awubaboni for the whole year? Then mina into engamphendula ngayo wukuthi mina ngi feeler as if manje kula ngibapha khona uthando; angikho eduze kwabo but manje it's the more ngibapha uthando because every month ngi maker sure ukuthi i R2000 iyangena for bona. Bathenga izimpahla and everything; uma ngiseduze kwabo bayangitshela ukuthi sisi ngilambile but nothing to give them. Sisi angina sicathulo and nai ngiyambona umtwana wami ukuthi akanasicathulo. Ngise*

duze kwakhe, ngimnikeza uthando ngenhliziyo mara kunzima ukuthi ngimu providele because anginamali; angisebenzi. So right uma ngise Cape Town, angikho eduze kwakhe ukuthi ngimnikeze lolo thando lolo but ngiyakhuluma naye efowunini ukuthi mntanami ngiyaku thanda and naye uyabona ukuthi ngiyamthanda because uyazi every month umama wami uzothumela, every month bayaphuma bayodla e Spur; umama wami uthumele imali. Uyazi lemali ayodla ngayo e Spur wumama wami oyithumele.

PARTICIPANT 2(D2): *Ngaleso sikhathi wena i payslip yendoda awuyazi but i girlfriend iyayazi. Ukutshela ukuthi urhola R1000 kanti urhola R5000. I pay slip awuyazi mara the other woman uyayazi and ne card uyalibamba.*

PARTICIPANT 3 (D2): *... So ngiyabanikeza le mali ye prostitution, angeke uze usho emntwaneni wakho ukuthi ngiya prostitutor. Uzothi ngisebenza e ofisini ngiyi receptionist or ngiyi bookkeeper mara angazi niks nge bookkeeping. By that time uyathumela ekhaya uma uthi ufika kibo, ufika kuna everything. Indlu yakibo imile, abantwana bakhe uyababona.*

PARTICIPANT 3 (D2): *...Angisafuni abantwana bami badle ubulongo benkomo, uma usebenza le R5000 mawuyithola usale nge R100, yonke uyayithatha ushayela ekhaya...*

Even though some men do send money back home when they migrate, it often becomes insufficient (as they have to take care of themselves and families back home), making it difficult to take care of the family. These are some of the factors that lead women to migrate so that they can supplement what men provide. When women are migrant labourers, they send most of their money back home and sometimes are

left with no money to live on. In support of this, Lopez- Ekra et al. (2011) argue that women remit more of their wages to their families and friends when compared to men, and Gates (2014) highlights that women remit 10 times more than men in ensuring their families' well-being.

In rural South Africa, the idea of a wife is guided by traditions passed on from older women. Women migrant labourers are thus judged differently compared to men who migrate for work purposes. Because women are socialised to be at home taking care of their children, it becomes an anomaly when a woman decides to migrate and work to support her children. This discourse of a woman's role in the family is maintained by other women. When a woman migrates, she is judged by other women in the community and within her own family. It is accepted for a man to leave his wife and children in the village and have another wife, while a woman is considered to be 'isifebe' (which means the harlot) when she lives with a man in the city.

PARTICIPANT 2 (D2): *Oh ok mina ngicabanga ukuthi umama makahamba ayofuna umsebenzi kubancono....no like besides the way i community iyibeka ngakhona kuyakhulunywa ngaye like kuba nezindaba zokuthi uyahamba ini ini. Mara u baba wathi uyofuna umsebenzi angeke uzwe muntu akhuluma. Bazothi uyozamela abantwana. Umama yena kuyothiwa sekaya ebufebeni uyofuna amadoda e Goli. Mara u baba makaqala ahamba abasho ukuthi uyofuna abafazi bathi ubaba uyofuna umsebenzi. And uthole ukuthi amadoda yiwo a worse ngoba uma afika la uyakhohlwa ukuthi ngike ngaba. Wenza abantwana abayi million. Uthola abo sisi abayi 5 la nase khaya ushiye 5.*

PARTICIPANT 5 (D2): *So mina ngithi la e South Africa asikho fair. Sibheka abafazi kakhulu sikhohlwe amadoda.*

PARTICIPANT 2 (D2): *And amadoda uma enza into e wrong ayakhulunyelwa ukuthi hay yindoda. Thina bafazi sahlala si understand.*

PARTICIPANT 5 (D2): *U mama noma angafika la awuthole umsebenzi abondle abantwana kuzoloku kukhulunywa, ubaba yena noma angafika awuthole umsebenzi angabondli abantwana kuzothiwa hayi u right yindoda uyasebenza e Goli. Mara u mama kuzothiwa vele bekaye ebufebeni ekubeni uyabasapota abantwana kodwa kuthiwe uyafeba.*

PARTICIPANT 4 (D2): *And manihleli angithi uyaba tshela abo skwiza ukuthi indoda ayilethi imali mara makaqeda lapho wena uma sowuyofuna umsebenzi kuhleba yena futhi lo bowumtshela. Uthole ukuthi abo baba bala, abo malume nabo bani bayavuma ukuthi akahambe u makoti ayosebenza ngoba ubhuti uhlulekile. And abafazi yibo abazothi uyofeba.*

PARTICIPANT 1 (D2): *Mara makuyi ndoda vele akunazi nkulumo kodwa kumfazi zikhona.*

PARTICIPANT 6 (D2): *Kuze kuthiwe sometimes ubasapota ngemali yobufebe.*

Women migrant labourers continue to be judged differently than men who migrate to work in different cities, leaving children behind. Women not only have to deal with patriarchy but also have to fight oppression from other women. It is difficult to rise from the societal norms of childrearing work as women's work. This is a view also noted by Keough, Moran-Taylor, and Parrenas (as cited in Hofmann & Buckley, 2012) because, when women migrate, it is seen by others as neglect but when men migrate it is seen as provision for their families.

4.7 Conclusion

This chapter aimed at providing an analysis of the data collected through the focus groups held with community women of Madelakufa. The themes that arose from the engagements point to the complexities faced by women migrant labourers. The chapter further highlights how the notion of children left behind is more complex when the decision to leave children is so that women can provide for them. The findings show that the act of leaving the child can be understood in this context as one of the ways to show love. Furthermore, the position of women in society and the way in which women are socialised contribute to the negative reception that women who leave children behind receive. Gender inequality is a presence that haunts women on a daily basis. The many spaces that women occupy continue to render them as second-class citizens. This is the situation that many women continually face, what I referred to in the beginning as 'Isimo' (the situation/the state of things). It is 'Isimo' of women in their communities that drives them to make the difficult decision of separating from their children. What I move to next is the concluding chapter where I will knit all the main points together and make suggestions for a way forward.

Chapter 5

Conclusion, limitations and recommendations

5.1 Conclusion

This chapter knits together the main points of the study and provides concluding remarks. The study aimed at understanding the Madelakufa community women's perceptions of migrant women labourers, with a particular focus on the notion of children left behind. When we understand the different perceptions that communities have, we stand a better chance to gain insight into the nuances linked to women migrant labourers. A deeper understanding of reasons that lead to women 'choosing' to become migrant labourers is critical in assisting us to better problematise perception communities hold regarding women migrant labourers. This study aimed at raising some of these multidimensional experiences of women and ways in which they navigate the perpetual everyday struggles with which they are confronted.

As noted in the previous chapter, the overarching discourse that ran through the themes that emerged during data analysis was 'Isimo' (the situation). Women are confronted with difficult circumstances on a regular basis that lead to some of them making the painful decision of leaving their children behind in search for employment. It is Isimo of poverty that pushes women to migrate for better work opportunities where they cannot be accommodated to live with their children. It is Isimo of unemployment that causes women not to be able to send any money back home to support their children as they navigate urban areas that require money for survival. Isimo causes women to make difficult decisions that they would ordinarily not make in the name of survival.

Madelakufa women's perceptions assist us to broadly understand the gendered complexities faced by women on a daily basis. For example, the notion of women leaving children at home while they go seek employment being perceived as neglect and men doing the same being viewed as providing support for the family is problematic and perpetuates patriarchal tendencies. The study highlights the dire circumstances that most women live under and the sacrifices they have to make to ensure a better future for their children. Gender inequality continues to be a thorn that pierces the soles of the feet of many women as they are expected to walk with raised heels, failing which they feel the pinch. The focus groups afforded the opportunity for women to collectively share, reflect on and engage with the challenges faced by women who have to make the hard decision of leaving their children behind. Borrowing from an African proverb, "it takes a village to raise a child", we are reminded that a child that is left behind is never neglected, as the community has to take the responsibility of parenthood/guardianship. However, as the study highlights, communities are struggling and poverty and unemployment are rife, which makes it difficult for the proverb to be realised. South Africa continues to have a high unemployment rate and this structural challenge trickles down into families, leading to people (women) making decisions to find ways to support their loved ones.

While people view women who are migrant labourers as 'neglecting' their children through a judgemental lens, the women see it as a sacrifice and an act of love. The sacrifice is not being physically present to raise the children and seeing them grow, but the women love their children enough to leave them and look for employment in a place where they cannot live with them. While leaving children behind can be seen as an act of love, there are a number of challenges faced by children and women do worry

about their children facing these challenges. Women leave their children with people they trust, but that does not exempt the children from experiencing challenges such as suffering abuse or being raped.

Women make the tough decision to leave their children behind and migrate to the city with the hope of getting employment that will offer them an opportunity to better the lives of their families left behind. This unfortunately does not always go according to plan because migrant women get to the big cities and struggle to find employment. There is an assumption that, with qualifications, it is easy to acquire employment, but this is not always the case. The women from Madelakufa consistently mentioned that some employers have unlawful and unrealistic expectations from women before they offer them employment. Furthermore, these employers will resort to nepotism or demand bribery from women who want employment. The migrant woman will as a result be forced to source funds from alternative channels in order to send money home. Some of these channels include the migrant woman accepting offers from men offering money in exchange for sexual favours. In exchange for getting money, they agree to offer their bodies as a sacrifice just to be in a position to provide for their children they have left back home. The community from Madelakufa seemed to be tolerant and understanding of this practice and some of the women spoken to applauded this; they indirectly saw this as a form of formal employment. They mentioned that, when women communicate with their families back home, they falsely inform them that they have found themselves a job while they actually mean they have found men who supply for them.

With the above in mind, in presenting the perceptions of community women of Madelakufa on how they view women's migration and the notion of 'children left

behind', my aim was not to make fixed claims regarding the perceptions of community women of Madelakufa, but to stay true to their perceptions even though they are full of complexities and contradictions. This aim was achieved by taking the words of the women and presenting them verbatim. In the Madelakufa community, the notion of neglect is used loosely and women are perceived as the main nurturers of children, which then means they are often judged more harshly when they migrate to places where they cannot stay with their children as opposed to when men do the same.

Because of this study, my level of understanding has changed completely and has left me humbled. I am grateful for the outcome thereof and the impact it had on me personally.

5.2 Limitations

It is acknowledged that, while the results of the study provided great and useful insights, only two focus groups were used during data analysis. Therefore, there was a small number of participants and the results of the study cannot be generalised. The study had a particular focus (i.e., perceptions of community women in Madelakufa) and did not cover other stakeholders such as men, children, caregivers and other people in the community.

Three focus groups were conducted, but only two could be used. The third focus group was conducted towards the local elections in South Africa and data collected were contaminated as the participants did not want to respond. They were convinced that I worked for the Government and expected to receive something from me. As a result, they refused to respond to the questions asked and complained about service delivery,

stating that the Government was only interested in them at that time because they wanted votes.

5.3 Recommendations

Although migration is a topic that is studied by various scholars from different disciplines, it is my contention that it is a topic that requires constant revisiting as it affects various pockets of society. Isimo (the situation) that women kept referring to highlights the perpetual challenges faced by women in communities. A better understanding of the phenomenon assists us to think of possible policy changes that could be affected, especially within the social welfare aspect of the Government. It is my recommendation that programmes geared towards honing women's skills might assist in ensuring that women learn a trade and become self-sufficient, which may in turn minimise women's migration for labour.

Future research in different settings where the focus would be on different social, cultural, economic and geographical characteristics would assist in achieving a broader understanding of women migrant labourers and their children. Furthermore, while acknowledging that a body of work exists that looks into women migrant labourers, more research could assist us to see whether there has been a shift in the women's experiences and to learn from them what recommendations they may put on the table.

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Appendix A: Consent form

My name is Ephie Lebohang Ndala and I am a student in the Psychology department at UNISA and my research project is entitled “**Migrant women labourers and child children left behind: Madelakufa Community women’s perceptions.**” This is a research study intended to explore the perceptions of women regarding children left behind as a result of migrant labour and to understand the perceived possible challenges faced by women migrant labourers. I would like permission to interview you about your perceptions on women migrant labourers and children left behind.

The focus group interview will take between one and a half to two hours. With your permission, I would like to audio-record this interview so I can record the details accurately. The tapes will only be heard by me and my supervisor. All information gathered will be kept strictly confidential, and will be stored in a locked file cabinet, to which only I, and my supervisor, will have access. At any time you can refuse to answer any questions or end this interview.

The risk involved in this study, is that you may feel uncomfortable discussing some issues pertaining to children left behind during the focus group interview, and should this happen please know that you can stop at any time, and should you need to talk further about the uncomfortable feelings that might arise I will refer you to someone whom you can speak with. The benefit of your participation is that what you share with me might help us understand perceptions in relation to migrant women labourers and child children left behind. There will be approximately 6 to 8 participants taking part in each focus group

I may publish results of the study, but names of people, or any identifying characteristics, will not be used in any of the publications. If you would like a copy of the study, please provide me with your address and I will send you a copy in future.

If you have any questions about this research, you can contact me at 082 065 0988 or my supervisor Prof Puleng Segalo by email, segalp@unisa.ac.za. If you have questions about your rights as a participant in this study, you can contact the Unisa Ethics Office.

Thank you for your participation in the study. I will give you a copy of this form to take with you.

I agree to have this interview audio-recorded please [circle one]:

Yes No

Participant’s signature

Date

Researcher’s signature

Date

Appendix B: Focus group interview guide

1. What is your understanding of migrant labour?

Kuyini ukuqonda kwakho kwabasebenzi abafudukile, noma abashiya amakhayawabo ngenxa yomsebenzi?

2. What exposure do you have with migrant women labourers?

Sewukaze wezwa noma wahlangana nabesifazane abafudukile

3. What are general perceptions regarding women who leave their children behind as a result of migrant labour?

Iyini imicabango nje yo mama abashiya izingane zabo emuva emakhaya ngenxa yokufuduka noma ngenxa kusebenza kude nasemakhaya

4. What are some of the possible challenges faced by migrant mothers who make the choice to leave their children behind?

Ziyini izinkinga ezihlangabezwa ngabomama abashiya amakhaya nezingane zabo ngenxa yemisebenzi

5. What views do people hold regarding women who leave their children behind in search for work?

Iyini imibona yomphakathi ngabesifazane abashiya amakhaya nezingane zabo ngenxa yemisebenzi

6. What are challenges faced by children whose mothers leave them behind to go search for employment/betterment of their lives?

Ziyini izinkinga ezihlangabezwa yizingane ezishiyiwe ngonina bazo abafudukile noma, abahanga ngesizathu sokuyofuna imisenzi

7. What are common views held by people regarding men who migrate versus women who migrate in search for employment, leaving their children behind

Iyini imibono yomphakathi ngabobaba abafudukile noma abashiya izingane emakhaya ngenxa yomsebenzi uma iqhathaniswa nemibono yomama abenza njalo nabo

8. How does labour migration affect families?

Iyini imiphumela yokufuduka kwabasebenzi emindenini yabo

9. How does labour migration affect communities? What system could be placed in place to support families affected by labour migration (e.g. children whose mothers are labour migrants?)

Iyini imiphumela yokufuduka kwabasebenzi emphakathini. Yiziphi izinhlelo ezingasetshenziswa ukulekelela imindenini noma izingane ezishiyiwe ngonina ngenxa

yokufuduka

Appendix C: Ethical clearance



Ethical Clearance for M/D students: Research on human participants

The Ethics Committee of the Department of Psychology at Unisa have evaluated this research proposal for a Higher Degree in Psychology in light of appropriate ethical requirements, with special reference to the requirements of the Code of Conduct for Psychologists of the HPCSA.

Student Name: Ephie Lebohang Ndala

Student no. 33354820

Supervisor/promoter: Prof P. Segalo

Affiliation: Department of Psychology,
Unisa

Title of project:

Migrant women labourers and child 'abandonment': Community
women's perceptions

Result: Ethical clearance is granted.

The application was approved by the Ethics Committee of the Department of Psychology at Unisa on the understanding that all ethical requirements regarding informed consent, the right to withdraw from the study, the protection of participants' privacy and the confidentiality of the information will be met to the satisfaction of the supervisor.

A further condition is that the researcher informs the participants that the study is only aimed at achieving some general scientific understanding of their attitudes, and that she takes great care to steer the discussion during the focus group interviews away from any kind of potential xenophobic reaction to female migrant labourers.

Signed:

Prof H C Janeke

[For the Ethics Committee]
[Department of Psychology, Unisa]

Date: 13 October 2015

